

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [redacted] DATE: 1/7/58
FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON
SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	12/7/57 Activities of JAMES JACKSON	12/11/57	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[redacted]

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

For assistance in reviewing report, a number in parentheses () following a name or title set forth below will indicate that there is a reference to that name or title on the page or pages whose number will be enclosed in the parentheses. Where no number is set out, it is suggested that the entire report be reviewed for information on the subject matter.

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[redacted] father is [redacted] A copy of this report is, therefore, being routed to his file.

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

(See following pages for copies)

RCN:jmc
(50)

jmc

100-80638-1364

BALTIMORE, MD.	
JAN. 7, 1958	
SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INDEXED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters
J. Waters

[Handwritten initials]



- 2 - Little Rock (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION (8)
MEMBERSHIP (8)
- 2 - Memphis (REGISTERED MAIL)
MISSISSIPPI MEMBERSHIP (8)
MISSISSIPPI ORGANIZATION (8)
- 2 - New Orleans (REGISTERED MAIL)
MISSISSIPPI MEMBERSHIP (8)
MISSISSIPPI ORGANIZATION (8)
- 2 - Knoxville (REGISTERED MAIL)
TENNESSEE ORGANIZATION (8)
TENNESSEE MEMBERSHIP (8)
- 2 - Mobile (REGISTERED MAIL)
ALABAMA MEMBERSHIP (9)
ALABAMA ORGANIZATION (9)
- 2 - Birmingham (REGISTERED MAIL)
ALABAMA MEMBERSHIP (9)
ALABAMA ORGANIZATION (9)
- 2 - Richmond (REGISTERED MAIL)
VIRGINIA MEMBERSHIP (9)
VIRGINIA ORGANIZATION (9)
- 2 - Norfolk (REGISTERED MAIL)
VIRGINIA MEMBERSHIP (9)
VIRGINIA ORGANIZATION (9)
- 1 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
ORGANIZATION, DIST. 4 (2,3,4,10)
- (17) - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
JAMES JACKSON
FACTIONALISM (4,5,8,10,11,12)
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA (4,5,6,7,8,9,10)
BEN DAVIS (4)
EUGENE DENNIS (4,12)
BOB THOMPSON (4)
(cont'd page 1B)

[REDACTED]

17 - New York (cont'd)

JOHN GATES (4)

SID STEIN (4)

FRED FINE (4)

CP LINE (5,6,7)

BRIEF (5,6,7)

UNDERGROUND (6)

100-13166 CP, USA, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMM. (7,8,9)

MEMBERSHIP (8,9)

NEGRO QUESTION (7,8,9)

FUNDS (9,10)

SECURITY MEASURES (11,12)

16 - Baltimore

100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS

100-10584 [REDACTED]

100-14379 JAMES JACKSON

100-12425 [REDACTED]

100-20176 [REDACTED]

100-12412 [REDACTED]

100-10975 [REDACTED] (2,3)

100-12537 [REDACTED]

100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DIST. 4 (2,3,4,10)

100-4090 BALTO. DIST. 4 (2,3,4,10)

100-12070 SECURITY MEASURES (2,3,12)

100-12458 FACTIONALISM (4)

100-11800 BRIEF (5)

100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION (9)

100-11640 FUNDS (9,10)

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

"Baltimore, Maryland
December 11, 1957

The following report concerns a CP meeting at the home of GEORGE MEYERS on December 7, 1957, with JAMES JACKSON, national CP leader, GEORGE MEYERS and JACOB GREEN present. GEORGE MEYERS is the Acting Chairman for the CP District which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C. JACOB GREEN is a District Board member.

JACOB GREEN and JAMES JACKSON arrived at GEORGE MEYERS' home at about 9:35 PM, and apologized for being late.

GEORGE MEYERS received GREEN and JACKSON. [REDACTED] GEORGE MEYERS' wife, was in the living room with her father.

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MEYERS, GREEN and JACKSON sat down in the dining room of the MEYERS home and commenced their discussion.

MEYERS stated that BOB LEE, District Board member, was unable to attend the meeting since he had several invitations from people in his neighborhood. MEYERS then said that he would try to have LEE meet JACKSON early Sunday morning.

MEYERS then stated that he had gone to the home of THELMA GERENDE, District Board member as well as District Secretary and Treasurer, on Thursday and Friday night, December 5th and 6th, in an effort to contact her and advise her that a District Board meeting was going to be held at MEYERS' home on December 7th. MEYERS said that he had been unable to get in touch with GERENDE, and since she was not present suggested that the meeting get underway.

MEYERS said to GREEN that he wanted to clear up something and should have spoken of the matter before. He said the reason that he was bringing it up now was because he didn't want GREEN to become angry with the whole Party in this area for accusing GREEN of being a government informant.

GREEN stated that such accusations placed an individual

[REDACTED]

in a difficult position and made that person feel that he did not know whom to trust.

MEYERS stated that [REDACTED] had accused GREEN of being a government informant because [REDACTED] felt that he was under FBI surveillance. MEYERS said that various friends of [REDACTED] had asked him why, after being in contact with GREEN for many years, he suddenly had become suspicious of him.

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MEYERS said that [REDACTED] in replying to individuals who had asked him about GREEN had been unable to give any sort of story that made sense. MEYERS then pointed out that [REDACTED] had never said anything against GREEN until he had learned that GREEN had become a member of the CP District Board. MEYERS then commented that when a person is placed in a leadership position in the CP, he is "put on the spot." MEYERS then assured GREEN that from the many conversations he has had with CP members and from the general atmosphere surrounding the issue of GREEN being suspected, he felt that GREEN had no cause to worry. MEYERS then stated that no one else in the Party in this area has accused GREEN of being an informant. MEYERS said that he had talked with THELMA GERENDE concerning this particular issue, and had made it clear to GERENDE that [REDACTED] statement had no basis.

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GREEN then stated that he could not understand [REDACTED] making such a statement against him. GREEN pointed out that [REDACTED] claimed that he was fighting for Negro equality. GREEN then pointed out that [REDACTED] seemed to change as he became more successful in business, and seemed to lose his working class attitude. GREEN then suggested that perhaps [REDACTED] was angry because he, GREEN, had not quit the CP when [REDACTED] left the Party.

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Both JACKSON and MEYERS then stated that the last point made by GREEN might be the answer to [REDACTED] accusation against GREEN, and they noted that a number of people in the past had been accused of being informants because they did not quit the Party when close friends left the CP.

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[REDACTED]

MEYERS then explained to JACKSON that the reason for the situation in this area so far as concerns the CP members was because of ideological differences between himself and past District Board members. MEYERS then told JACKSON of the meetings that had taken place between the past and present District Board members, one of them being a meeting on October 27, 1957, in Washington, D. C., and the other being November 17, 1957, in Baltimore.

JACKSON then stated that such differences existed all over the country, and that the causes for these differences had come about because of CP national leadership. JACKSON said the Party was striving to rebuild itself, and that could only be done through a struggle.

JACKSON then spoke of the factionalism that was going on among the CP national leadership, and pointed out that a part of the leadership wanted to dissolve the CP and form a Socialist group or an educational group. JACKSON then spoke of the national leaders holding a meeting and electing five people to draw up a program for future operation of the Party. JACKSON said that after these five people had drawn up the program, it was submitted to the national leaders and was voted upon. As a result of the vote, four of the national leaders indicated they were in favor of the program and three voted against it. JACKSON said that the four that were in favor of the program were JAMES JACKSON, BEN DAVIS, EUGENE DENNIS and BOB THOMPSON. JACKSON said that JOHN GATES, SID STEIN and FRED FINE voted against the program. JACKSON then pointed out that a bitter struggle was expected among the national CP leaders at CP national meetings in December.

JACKSON then stated that the Party leaders had made mistakes in the past because they had not looked carefully into the situation and realized what was going to take place after World War II. JACKSON said that with the past experience that the Party leaders had at their disposal insofar as attacks against the Party by reactionary forces, they should have been well prepared when attacked by the McCarthyite forces. JACKSON said that the Party leaders instead of mobilizing

[REDACTED]

the masses of workers with whom the CP leaders were in contact, the CP leaders isolated themselves from the masses by ordering the majority of the national leaders and Party functionaries to go underground.

JACKSON said that he had no excuses since he was one of the leaders who supported this type of activity, not realizing at the time that when there was no Party leadership the rank and file CP members would become divided.

JACKSON said that the reason the McCarthy forces took advantage of the Party was because the leaders of the CP who were left to carry on the struggle did not see fit at that time to change the Party line.

JACKSON then stated that the old Party line was to follow Marxist-Leninist theory. JACKSON then pointed out Marxist-Leninist theory points out that the only way Socialism would come about would be through revolutionary activities. JACKSON said that, of course, this type of theory (Marxist-Leninist), when first drawn up, had applied to the Soviet Union and to the majority of the countries in Europe.

JACKSON then stated that if those CP leaders who were leading the Party at the time the majority of the national leaders had gone underground had changed the "tune" of Marxist-Leninist theory to a "tune" of peaceful co-existence, they might at that time have changed the whole picture insofar as an attack against the Party by the U. S. Government. JACKSON then explained that he meant that by the Party continuing to practice the Marxist-Leninist principles as known to them in the past, that is the fact that the only way Socialism could come about was by revolution, gave the U. S. Government the opportunity to accuse the CP and say that the CP was preaching force and violence and the overthrowing of the U. S. Government.

JACKSON then stated that there was no getting around the fact that Marx and Lenin have pointed out that in

[REDACTED]

order to bring about Socialism, revolutionary activity must be emphasized. JACKSON said that Socialism in the Soviet Union and in Europe did not come about by having one or two revolutionary struggles, but through continuous revolutionary struggles, and that these struggles continued until Socialism came about to the workers.

JACKSON then commented that revolutionary struggles in the Soviet Union had driven out people such as LEON TROTSKY. JACKSON said again that in the United States as soon as the CP had found out what the U. S. Government intended to use against the Party, that is the fact that the Party was following Marxist-Leninist teachings, the CP should have modified the language of Marx and Lenin to suit the situation in the United States. JACKSON said that in other words, he meant that at that time the Party should have modified the word "revolutionary" to the term "peaceful co-existence." JACKSON said by doing so the Party would not have been attacked so vigorously by the U. S. Government, and in modifying the word "revolutionary" to the term "peaceful co-existence" the CP would have also been in a better position to convince more American people that Socialism could come about by peaceful means. JACKSON said at the same time the Party, while temporarily forgetting about the real meaning of Marxism-Leninism as to how Socialism would come about, would have been able to mobilize the masses of people, then at some later stage the CP with masses of people mobilized would have been able to actually carry out the real basic meaning of Marxist-Leninist theory on how to bring Socialism to the United States.

JACKSON said that instead of doing as he had mentioned above, the CP leaders had disappeared underground and left the membership to the reactionary forces, and as a result the CP became almost totally isolated from the masses of people. JACKSON then stated that he was convinced that no other organization such as a Political Association or an Educational Association could take the place of the CP.

JACKSON then stated that he was convinced that since

[REDACTED]

"our" Party is a working class party and has pledged itself to play a vanguard role for the working class that now more so than at any time in the past the Party needed a greater amount of working class leaders. JACKSON said that this did not mean that the Party should not have people of various educational backgrounds as leaders, but the real Party leadership should consist of people with basic working experience and leaders should be workers who had come from the shops, plants or farms. JACKSON then said that with such leaders and working masses to draw from, the Party could grow.

JACKSON then emphasized that in no country had Socialism come about without a struggle. JACKSON said that in the Soviet Union as well as other European countries where Socialism had come about there had been a capitalist class just the same as the capitalist class in the United States. JACKSON said despite the capitalist class in the Soviet Union and other European countries, Socialism had come about and it could also come about in America.

JACKSON then said that he was convinced in the 1930s that Socialism was about ready to come to the United States. JACKSON pointed out that at that time the Party was in a growing stage and did not realize the great opportunity they had at that time to bring Socialism to this country. JACKSON said that even though the Party failed in the 1930s, he still had confidence that the Party would bring Socialism to America.

JACKSON then stated that he wanted to give some information with regard to the situation in the South. JACKSON then said that some people who do not have any experience as regards what was taking place in the South felt that the CP had numerous CP members in the South. JACKSON then said that there was not a CP national leader who had the experience that he, JACKSON had of the situation in the South insofar as the CP was concerned.

JACKSON then stated that he had lived in every hole and corner in the South in the past 27 years, and had helped organize all types of CP activity throughout

[REDACTED]

the South. JACKSON said that in some instances he got good response and in some instances no response.

JACKSON stated that he had had a bitter discussion in New York with national leaders who were trying to make another individual responsible for CP activity throughout the South, but he fought the matter to a conclusion and made them agree that there was no one else who knew the Southern situation as well as himself.

JACKSON then commented that in some sections of the South the CP did not exist. JACKSON commented that in Mississippi there were a few Party functionaries, but that the total membership of Mississippi was only four. JACKSON then commented that the Party, however, still survives in Mississippi.

JACKSON then mentioned the case of a Negro preacher who had been shot in Mississippi (time not indicated), and pointed out that if the Party had not been in existence in Mississippi there would have been no activity which led to an exposure of the racist forces. JACKSON said by having these four CP members in Mississippi, the CP had been able to generate considerable agitation around the death of the preacher.

JACKSON then said that in Little Rock, Arkansas, the CP had been partly responsible for the agitation which had taken place concerning the situation at the Central High School. JACKSON said that in the State of Arkansas the CP membership was small, but even though small had been able to carry on some sort of activity.

JACKSON then commented that during the Little Rock situation disturbance, a white preacher had spoken out in favor of integration. JACKSON stated that this had come about through the CP.

JACKSON then mentioned the situation in Tennessee, saying that the Party there was not large but pointing out that it was the CP forces who had opposed the group in that area who did not want to see the integration of Negro and white students.

[REDACTED]

JACKSON then said that in Alabama "we" have a Party, and commented that it was not very large but "very effective." JACKSON then said that the CP had played a great role in the struggle surrounding the bus boycott which had taken place a year or so ago in Montgomery, Alabama.

JACKSON then stated that he had been on a tour for the CP in Richmond, Virginia (time not stated) to muster up money from professional people for the CP. JACKSON said he had gone into Richmond, Virginia, knowing that there was no Party there, and had contacted every Negro doctor in Richmond. JACKSON said that even though these people did not fully agree with the role the CP was trying to play, he received contributions from every Negro physician in Richmond, the amounts ranging from \$25.00 to \$150.00.

JACKSON then stated that he felt that the CP in the South could grow and what it actually needed was physical activity. JACKSON said that by activity he meant that whomever accepted responsibility for CP activity in that area would have to face the situation as it existed and still get something accomplished.

JACKSON then commented that even though the Supreme Court of the United States in recent decisions had changed the atmosphere surrounding the CP a good deal, the Party itself was still facing a crucial period.

JACKSON said that he had not talked to Negroes in this area as yet to get their feeling on the general situation, but from reports he has received from MEYERS he felt that the Negroes in this area were in part driven out of the CP by the past CP leaders in this area. JACKSON then commented that this did not mean that these people were completely lost to the Party.

JACKSON then stated that he wanted to give a brief picture as to what had taken place with regard to full time Party functionaries. JACKSON said that the

[REDACTED]

National Committee has had requests from all over the country for full time Party functionaries for their respective areas. JACKSON then stated that the CP has been in a very bad position financially, being almost bankrupt due to all of the trials that had taken place in recent years. JACKSON said that the Party also had to contribute money to help comrades who were being released from jail. JACKSON said that the CP at the present time was not able to put a full time functionary in every area.

JACKSON then stated that he had made a proposal to national leaders that certain areas such as Baltimore where Party membership should be over 100 should be assisted in regard to their having a full time paid functionary. JACKSON said, however, that the District must prove to the national leaders that the District was able to maintain a membership of at least 100 people.

JACKSON said at first he proposed that \$75.00 a week be given to various areas to assist in the paying of full time functionaries, but after discussion it was brought down to \$50.00 a week, and after later discussion \$75.00 a month. JACKSON said that the discussions have still not ended on this point, but that it was felt that if a large District could furnish \$75.00 a month towards the pay of a full time functionary then National Headquarters might be able to furnish the rest of the pay, based upon a cost of living for that particular area. JACKSON said that he felt that it would take more than \$200.00 a month for a full time functionary to live, and that that would have to be the full time functionary's pay until such time as the Party would recruit more members. JACKSON said as the Party continued to grow, the full time functionaries could get more money.

JACKSON said that there was a National Committee meeting coming up in December, which would involve sharp discussions around a letter that had been sent to the National Committee by comrades from California. JACKSON said the only thing that he could make of that

[REDACTED]

letter was that the comrades from California wanted to dissolve the CP.

JACKSON then stated that as he saw the situation which was shaping up around CP policy, there would be an extremely bitter fight at the National Committee meetings in December. JACKSON said that those of "us" who maintain that there should be a CP feel that our program will be supported by a majority of the rank and file CP members. JACKSON said the reason he felt this way was because of the discussions that had taken place at the National Convention which centered around the suggestions that the name and form of the CP be changed.

JACKSON stated that the National Executive CP meeting in December would lay the groundwork for the big decision which would take place in February, 1958. JACKSON said it had been decided among the national leaders that the situation would be brought to a close in February, and that at that time "we" would have a Communist Party or a Political or Educational Association. JACKSON then stated that whatever came out of the February, 1958, National Committee meeting would be the final decision in regard to changing the name and form of the organization.

JACKSON then stated that he had every confidence that those persons who were supporting the maintenance of the present name and form of the organization would win out.

JACKSON said that he was not too greatly disturbed about the fact that some Party members were accusing others of being government informers. JACKSON said he did not feel that the membership should become excited and confused because of accusations that some among them were government informers. JACKSON stated that if every individual as soon as he learned that a CP member was being accused of being an informant was to ask himself as to how much proof there was against the accused person, the situation would not become so confused. JACKSON said that he felt that every accuser should put his accusation in writing, and commented that

[REDACTED]

he felt that many of the individuals who were accusers might be doing this in order to cover up for their own lack of activity.

JACKSON then said that he felt the District leadership in every area had a responsibility with regard to digging into accusations that some of the members were informants, and should see that matters were brought to a head. JACKSON said that he felt that until such time as proof had been given against an accused comrade, the comrade should be allowed to be a part of the organization. JACKSON said that in the meantime the CP could keep a close check, not only on the person accused but also on the accuser.

GREEN then stated that he was very much interested in the remarks given by JACKSON, and pointed out that the CP District in this area was trying to carry on a struggle to rebuild the CP. GREEN said that this CP District had always been interested in having national leaders down to their area to assist with problems. GREEN said that he believed JACKSON's suggestions with regard to developing Negro members by the formation of social clubs was both good and practical.

GREEN then asked JACKSON whether the District had the power to work with persons accused of being informants without having conflict with national procedures.

JACKSON replied that at the present time more than ever the constitution of the CP gives a right to everyone in the organization to demand proof be brought against them and to have a hearing. JACKSON then said that the national leadership was bound by the constitution.

GREEN then asked JACKSON what would happen if there were conflict among national leaders with regard to sections of the constitution.

MEYERS then commented that this matter of conflicts has concerned EUGENE DENNIS and as a result DENNIS has tried in the past and still tries to play all conflicts off in a corner.

[REDACTED]

The meeting then ended about 12 midnight, and MEYERS
drove GREEN and JACKSON to GREEN's home."

This memo has been compared with the informant's original
statement and it is accurate in substance.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)

DATE: 1/20/58

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
IS - C

Enclosed are 7 copies of the report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, dated 1/20/58, at NY. Copies of this report have been designated for all offices in accordance with specific Bureau instructions.

No information was developed during the pertinent period concerning the following activities of the CP, USA:

- Membership
- Underground Operations
- Women Matters
- Veterans' Matters
- Religion

There is also set out as a part of this memorandum, information obtained during the period of this report under the title CP, USA International Relations. The information is set forth separately from the report because it tends to identify the sources.

this part detached & destroyed as unnecessary

A part of this memorandum is a list of informants used in the above report, together with their identification.

list attached to this copy destroyed as unnecessary

Also enclosed are 7 copies for the Bureau and one copy to each office of a memorandum suitable for dissemination setting forth the reliability of these informants.

- 2 - Bureau (100-3) (Encl. 14) (RM)
- 1 - All Offices (Encl. 2) (RM)
- 4 - New York (100-4931)

JVW:mm
(57)

1-27-58
Post P per a wire

100-80638-1365

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 27 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-4931

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report pertinent activities of the CP, USA for the quarterly period 1/1/58 to 3/31/58.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, 10/18/57.

This report has been classified "Confidential" as it contains information the unauthorized disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the national security.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-7908)

DATE: January 20, 1958

FROM : SA [redacted]

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SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, DISTRICT #1
IS-C

From : [redacted]
 Date and Description : District Committee meeting, CP of New England, held 1/5/58, Roxbury Massachusetts.
 Date Received : The report on the District Committee meeting of the Communist Party of New England, held January 5, 1958, in Roxbury, Massachusetts, was dictated by [redacted] to Special Employee [redacted] on January 6, 1958, in the presence of SA [redacted]. The report consisting of seventeen pages, was transcribed by Special Employee [redacted] on January 7, 1958. The report of [redacted] was read and acknowledged by his signature on each page, on January 14, 1958, in the presence of SA [redacted].
 Location : [redacted]

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In view of the sensitivity of this informant the utmost care must be utilized to carefully paraphrase this information prior to dissemination in order to protect the identity of this informant.

LMM/mmj
(81)

- 2 - Chicago 100- (GILBERT GREEN)(RM)
- 100- (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)(RM)
- 2 - Denver 100- (COMPROS-DENVER)(RM)
- 100- (CP-FUNDS)(RM)
- 20 - New York 100- (SIDNEY STEIN)(RM)
- 100- (JOHN GATES)(RM)
- 100- ("DAILY WORKER")(RM)
- 100- (CP-BROOKLYN)(RM)
- 100- (CP-FUNDS)(RM)
- 100- (EUGENE DENNIS)(RM)
- 100- ("THE WORKER")

100-80638-1366

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 24 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters

cc's continued next page

BS 100-7908

New York copies continued

- 100- (CP-USA)(RM)
- 100- (CP-ORGANIZATION)(RM)
- 100- (GREEN-WINSTON AMNESTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE)(RM)
- 100- (HENRY WINSTON)(RM)
- 100- (WILLIAM PATTERSON)(RM)
- 100- (MICHAEL A. RUSSO)(RM)
- ~~100-~~ (CP,USA - MEMBERSHIP)(RM)
- 100- (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(RM)
- 100- (BENJAMIN DAVIS)(RM)
- 100- (HY LUMER)(RM)
- 100- (JAMES JACKSON)(RM)
- 100- (ROBERT THOMPSON)(RM)
- 100- (FRED FINE)(RM)

Boston Copies

- [REDACTED]
- 100-497 [REDACTED]
- 100-1843 (BOSTON JEWISH PEOPLE'S FORUM)
- 100-13591 [REDACTED]
- 100-5431 [REDACTED]
- 100-775 [REDACTED]
- 100-15170 [REDACTED]
- 100- (BENJAMIN DAVIS)
- 100-30 [REDACTED]
- 100- (EUGENE DENNIS)
- 100- (FRED FINE)
- 100-18524 (JOHN GATES)
- 100- (GILBERT GREEN)
- 100-32359 (GREEN-WINSTON AMNESTY CAMPAIGN)
- 100-11772 [REDACTED]
- 100-313 [REDACTED]
- 100-18271 [REDACTED]
- 100-568 [REDACTED]
- 100- (JAMES JACKSON)
- 100-22939 [REDACTED]
- 100-16208 [REDACTED]
- 100-12138 [REDACTED]
- 100- (HY LUMER)
- 100-28338 [REDACTED]
- 100- (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 100-1843 [REDACTED]
- 100- (MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION)
- 100- (WILLIAM PATTERSON)

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cc's continued next page

BS 100-7908

cc's Boston continued

- 100-23781 (JOHN RUSSO)
- 100-926 [REDACTED]
- 100-22996 (SIDNEY STEIN)
- 100-547 [REDACTED]
- 100- (ROBERT THOMPSON)
- 100- (HENRY WINSTON)
- 100-18875 [REDACTED]
- 100-23071 [REDACTED]
- 100-18901 [REDACTED]
- 100-31733 (ATTEMPTS BY CP TO ESTABLISH BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
- 97-78 ("DAILY WORKER")
- 100-31223 (COMPROS-BOSTON)
- 100-17513 (CP-BRIEF)
- 100-20779 (CP-ORGANIZATION)
- 100-20778 (CP-MEMBERSHIP)
- 100-16191 (CP-FUNDS)
- 100-29844 (CP-PRINTING FACILITIES)
- 100-20787 (CP-FACTIONALISM)
- 100-20785 (CP-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- 100-16410 (CP-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- 100-19374 (CP-LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
- 100-23165 (CP-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES)
- 100-26893 (CP-STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 100-24111 (CP-NEGRO QUESTION)
- 100-18169 (CP-PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
- 100-18912 (CP-EDUCATION)
- 100-18211 (CP-INDUSTRIAL)
- 100-18018 (CP-ROXBURY)

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Index to 100-7908

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

New Hampshire

FNU [REDACTED]

New Hampshire

Informant's report dated January 7, 1958, follows:

"On January 5, 1958, a meeting of the New England Communist Party, District Committee, was held at the home of [redacted] Fayston Street, Roxbury. This meeting originally was scheduled to be held at the HOODS downstairs but his furnace went out during the night so it was held upstairs at [redacted]

"Those attending were:



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[redacted] was not there so we did not have a report of the last District Committee meeting, other than certain things that people recalled.

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[redacted] is back as a member of the District Committee, there having been some doubt as to his status, at the last District Committee meeting.

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"A rather loose agenda was set up. First there was a report on the National Executive Committee, then a report from [redacted] on Labor; the report of the Defense Committee, the report from the Program Committee, and a report from the Education Committee.

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"At the time the agenda was set up, [redacted] and [redacted] had not arrived. Instead of [redacted] giving a report on the National Executive Committee the meeting started off with [redacted] giving a report on the Defense Committee. [redacted] in listing Committee funds available, read verbatim from a combination typewritten and handwritten report consisting of one page, bearing the caption 'MASS. SMITH ACT DEFENSE COMMITTEE', self-described as a Statement of Operations from May 1956 through December 1957. A few copies of this report were distributed at this meeting. [redacted] explained that she had been sick and that this report had been made up by [redacted] who had worked with the committee. [redacted] said if we wanted her to, she would explain it further.

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"On the first item, Membership and Bail Cases, \$1,100, she explained that part of this sum was for [redacted] first case, and that approximately \$200 had gone to help finish paying for [redacted] lawyer, [redacted] having formerly been indicted by the State and unable to finish paying for his lawyer. The \$200 was to help on this.

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[redacted] questioned the amount paid [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] was paid \$1,091.53; [redacted] had been paid \$1,696.33. [redacted] wanted an explanation for that, and [redacted] explained that both [redacted] even after [redacted] had left the Party, had continued to work with the Committee doing a lot of research, digging up facts and figures. Both had been hired by the Committee to do the work, and the sums indicated amounted to their salary.

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"There were two items, Miscellaneous and Mailing. She explained that the \$54.57 on mailing was what they had spent for envelopes and paper and that postage was included in the Miscellaneous item of \$289.68. She said there was still \$500 reserved for [redacted] case and the \$500 itemized as going to the Denver case had been voted at the last District Committee meeting. This \$500 has already been sent and a letter of acknowledgment received from the Denver group defendants.

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[redacted] had a letter that he said he had also received from one of the Denver defendants. He read this letter and it was broken down by the writer showing that it still left the Denver group with a \$2,292.00 deficit.

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[redacted] in explaining the notation - Donations \$129.07, stated the report was made out over the Christmas and holiday period, following which donations had come in from people who hadn't been able to contribute to the Defense Committee. She said the sum of \$129.07 came from such donations. That left the Defense Committee with a balance of \$268.85 exclusive of the \$500 reserved for MIKE RUSSO'S case.

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[redacted] brought up the fact that [redacted] case in New Hampshire was going to the Supreme Court. She felt that we should make a donation to him, send him \$100 or \$200 from the defense fund. [redacted] disagreed. [redacted] said [redacted] was running his own case up there, that this was not the way a Marxist should do, and that no donation should be made. He didn't think we should just take some money and give it to an individual unless he was willing to talk the thing over with us and develop his case along a Marxist basis.

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[redacted] said he thought we should make a donation, that it shouldn't be on the basis of barter, and that we should make a contribution outright. There was considerable talk about [redacted] case going to the Supreme Court, that whether we gave \$100 or \$200 it was only going to be a token thing anyway, and that we were supposed to be interested in Civil Rights, etc. [redacted] injected again that there should be some political basis and there should be some questions raised with him, and this should be developed on a broad basis. There was considerable feeling about this. Some felt [redacted] should be given the money, without question, and [redacted] and [redacted] felt that since [redacted] and his wife were paying for their own case, they should run it. There were two motions made on this point. A motion was made that a committee be appointed to see [redacted] and discuss his case and report back. Also there was a motion made that a contribution of \$100 be made to [redacted]. The first motion was passed unanimously and on the second motion there were seven for, two opposed, and one abstention.

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"After being voted, [redacted] was still very much against it and very much outspoken. [redacted] explained the money belonged to the Defense Committee, that it did not belong to the Party, and that accordingly we had to qualify the vote by saying what we had voted for was to recommend to the Defense Committee that they send the \$100 to [redacted]. It was finally agreed that the motion made was to recommend to the Defense Committee that they send [redacted] \$100.00.

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"Finally we had to appoint a committee to see [redacted] and [redacted] both volunteered. It was a unanimous vote that they be the Committee to see [redacted] and that they discuss the significance of his case and determine whether there was a possibility of developing it on a broad basis. They were to raise certain questions with [redacted] about his case and report back to the next District Committee meeting. [redacted] said in previous times in New Hampshire, members of the Party had been faced with difficulties when several had been indicted there several years ago, and the groundwork that they had done then had made it that much easier for [redacted] to get a guy like [redacted] who is a Senator, to become interested in his case. He also mentioned that they had been instrumental in involving a man by the name of [redacted] (ph.), in such cases. [redacted] argument was that all this work the Party had done before had built up a basis for [redacted] case and he felt that [redacted] at this point, was a little bit anti-Party and it bothered him because he felt that [redacted] was reaping the benefit of work which the Party had done previously.

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[redacted] felt there should be no strings tied to any donation, that we should at least let [redacted] know we were interested in what was happening to him, that Party or no Party it was a Civil Rights case.

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"At this point [] was asked to give a report on the Amnesty letter for GIL GREEN and HARRY WINSTON. She had been given the job of seeing [] She said she had been to see [] previous to Christmas and [] had been very negative towards the thing. [] said she was tired of working for lost causes and she felt that her energy and her work should be spent in changing the political atmosphere of our country. She was working against the H-Bomb, and for Peace with the Quakers. [] reported that she actually didn't turn her down completely, telling [] to come back in a couple of months when she might have more time and the situation might change. She didn't think, however, that she wanted to become involved in the Amnesty letter for GIL GREEN and WINSTON because she was so involved with these other matters. [] said GIL GREEN and HARRY WINSTON were the only two Smith Act victims still in jail.

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[] also reported that they had gotten out a letter one of the Party members had written and it was going out to all the small newspapers in Massachusetts. FRAN had a list of them. She asked [] if he could pick the letter up on his way home. This letter was discussed at the last District Committee meeting. It was a letter to go out, signed by the Massachusetts Smith Act Victims and asking for amnesty for GIL GREEN and HARRY WINSTON. On this letter, [] reported that [] had not wanted to sign it if it was being published in the Boston papers, and that [] had refused to sign it. [] said that WILLIAM PATTERSON was working for amnesty for GREEN and WINSTON on a national basis. [] said we could no longer send out our Amnesty Christmas cards but that we should keep the matter in mind and inform our members in our sections that PATTERSON was working on a national basis for Amnesty for GREEN and WINSTON. I believe the question came up whether we could still use the cards and she said no, they could not be used.

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[] asked [] why [] had refused to sign the letter. [] and [] said the reason wasn't important. I believe [] said the same thing. [] said she thought it was important and wanted to know why [], who had left the Party, had also refused to sign a letter for amnesty for other Smith Act Victims. [] explained that he had refused to sign it unless it also requested amnesty for [] and everybody else in the world.

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[] asked where [] was and what he was doing and [] reported that [] was no longer in the district, that he had gone to California.

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[] asked why we were wasting our time on this stuff and thought any meeting should start off with the National Executive Committee report. It was decided to start in with [] National Executive Committee report. This was a report on the December 20-22 meeting of the CP Executive Committee.

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[] started off his report with some extraneous remarks. He didn't know exactly how to report, saying there was a really chaotic condition in the Party, nationally, and said he had some question as to how to proceed, that there was a very, very said internal situation in the Party. He went back to the 16th Convention, saying at that time there had been sharp differences but that they had felt some progress had been registered. They had achieved some degree of unity at the Convention but that the unity now appears to have been more apparent than real and the fact is the Party crisis has deepened. He said there was an acute crisis and paralysis in the leadership of the Party, that probably if we were to go out and register members today we wouldn't be able to register more than 5,000 or 6,000 people on a national scale. He said there was a sharp division nationally within the Executive Board of the Party. He had the minutes of the 16th Convention and said there has apparently been a real effort to reverse the meaning of convention decisions. He said there was a great deal of factionalism, etc., but you get FOSTER who says the main danger is the growing right tendencies in the Party, and referred to the December 'Political Affairs' and FOSTER'S article 'Party Crisis and the Way out'. He said although there was a certain logic to FOSTER'S position and that he was not in complete agreement with him, he had to accept a part of his position. [] said BEN DAVIS of the Executive Committee, held the same position as FOSTER, that the 'right' danger is the main danger facing the Party. He said the entire New York State Committee also believes that the 'right' danger was now the main danger.

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[] reported that the National Administrative Committee had held a meeting prior to the National Executive Committee meeting, a week or so before the December 20-22 meeting. At the 16th Convention, the National Administrative Committee's power had been clearly defined as an administrative body only, and not a policy making committee. The NAC had taken a position on the 'Declaration of Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries', reference to which is found on Page 83 of 'Political Affairs', December 1957 issue. My understanding is that the NAC took the position that the line as presented in this, should be what our Party follows here. The following people on the NAC voted for it:

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"DENNIS
LUMER
THOMPSON
JACKSON

"FINE urged that the Administrative Committee not take any action on it because they were usurping the power of the N.E.C., that they had no right to take any action like that until they had discussed it with the National Executive Committee. [] said the feeling on the N.E.C. was that the people on the N.A.C. represent the left, that the N.A.C. had jumped the gun on the N.E.C., in order to consolidate their position and that the N.E.C. censured the N.A.C. for their action because, according to the 16th Convention, the N.A.C. is an administrative body and not a policy making body. [] said policy making, according to the convention, is to be determined by the N.E.C.

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[] reported that the N.E.C. censured the Comrades for a flagrant abuse of power, that it was a violation of Party democracy, obviously a factional maneuver and that he, [] was disturbed by their view because it was a bureaucratic action.

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[] also reported that the revisionists have a majority on the National Committee and the N.A.C. statement was defeated at the N.E.C. meeting. [] explained that he wasn't ready to defend the position on International Communism but he was 'ready to defend that revisionism is not the main danger of the Party in the United States'. [] said the question we had to answer was how we treat the 12-Party Statement, that it wasn't one of rejecting it, but rather treating it in light of its application to the United States. [] reported that SID STEIN said 'we should resist any attempt to reverse policy by trying to make revisionism the main danger'.

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[] said the main thing we had to decide was our attitude toward the USSR. [] said this was the touch-stone. [] asked what is going on nationally, anyway, and [] said 'the touch-stone of the whole thing is our attitude toward the USSR and the whole socialist world'. He said actually we had to decide whether we were going to be an autonomous Party, or the old thing, and thought there was an historical epic which had come to a close. He said there were people on the National Committee who were rigid products of the old way of doing things. He had a book and read part of an Italian report on TOGLIATTI of the Italian Communist Party. The part of the report he read pointed out that Marxism was a science and it taught that in certain situations and in different countries

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"you had to proceed differently. He thought that the GATES position and the STEIN remarks should be placed before the membership for discussion. He thought we had to consider whether or not our convention policy is correct and said maybe we should have another convention.

[] reported that the Daily Worker was closed down and that he had voted for it as there was nothing else he could do. He said, however, he wanted to report it was closed down because of the internal situation in the Party and thought we should know that was what actually closed the paper. He said there was \$100,000 in Brooklyn, in reserve funds, which nobody could get, nobody on the National Committee could get it, so it had to be closed down. [] reported they had voted on the N.E.C. to discontinue the paper and although he had voted for that position he nevertheless had an argument with DENNIS over the closing, stating in argument that if it had been handled differently it could have been avoided and that it could have been saved if it hadn't been for the factionalism in existence.

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"After [] report, BOBBY said the crisis in the leadership was a contradiction of unity among the membership and that we should encourage the membership to work with the masses, etc. BOBBY said we had to work on issues the American people were faced with. [] disagreed with BOBBY and said there was a profound ideological crisis within the Party, that he wanted to be active but wanted to be active as a Communist and that Communist activity was not A.D.A. activity or union activity, that it was purposeful activity. [] said he could be as busy as a bee, but who wanted to be busy as a bee, he wanted to be busy as a Communist.

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"BOBBY brought out that in the past history of the Party we had revisionist tendencies and we had left sectarian tendencies that were all mistakes, and that he didn't think the main danger was revisionist tendencies today. He said he thought what we had to do was to get the National Committee into some sort of discussion on a program on the American Road to Socialism, such as what faced the negro people, and thought we had to answer what kind of a role the American Party was going to play in the issues facing the American people.

"BOBBY was all for pinning the National Committee down to working out some sort of program, which also was something that the 16th Convention said they should do.

[] said we had to consider the economic crisis developing within the A.F.L. and C.I.O. and consider some of the issues directly faced by the American people. He was convinced that there was a future for the Party and the Party was necessary, because it is a militant fighting Party. He said we have to take some interest in what faces the American working class, certain issues that arose every day that the National Committee had not, but should face, such as the number of layoffs of American auto workers and trade with China. He said if we had trade with China we would be selling them our surplus cars which they need, and the U.A.W. workers would not be unemployed. He said that also, at the same time, this would open up a road to peaceful co-existence. He used this as illustrations of what the National Committee should be concerning themselves with, instead of factionalism and that type of thing.

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[] said he thought that the National Committee was making a left sectarian mistake, that he thought it was wrong to take the position that the main danger was either left sectarianism or revisionism, and he thought we should come to concrete grips with questions at hand. He thought it was basic for us to work for some sort of position, that we should fight for some sort of issue and move on the issues. He didn't think it was correct for us to take a position that the entire past period had been entirely wrong.

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[] said she thought we all agreed that the maintenance of peace was one of our most important and overwhelming issues in the present day picture.

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"BOONE said he thought in this historical period we should begin to think of ourselves a little bit, instead of accepting everything the National Committee said, and he thought we should take the attitude of let's not rush into any repetition of anything in the past, of going along with these people.

[] said he agreed with [] and BOBBY but he didn't think we should rush into a lot of political activity without some ideological basis. He thought the leadership should be attempting to put the Party back on its feet, instead of delving into the factional struggle it is in. He didn't feel we were going to solve our problems by a lot of activity and just running around, and he thought what we had to do was formulate a long-range program for our district.

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[] said what was at stake actually was an interpretation and appliance of our beliefs, and disagreed with the attempt of the

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"N.A.C. to take action on these things without the membership taking part in a discussion first.

"After it was all summed up we made a motion that the District Committee of the New England Communist Party urge upon the N.A.C. and the N.E.C. to use every caution to avoid factionalism, and to do the work that they were set up to do. This motion was re-worded after a great deal of discussion and proposed amendments and word changes, to read that the District Committee of the New England Communist Party criticizes the action of the N.A.C. in endorsing the 12-Party declaration, before having a discussion of it by the National Committee, bringing out in this motion that the action of the N.A.C. on this issue was beyond their power. That motion was carried, 8 to 2. The two people voting against the motion were

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[redacted]
"There was a motion made for [redacted] to come in with a report on the 12-Party declaration in relation to the American Road to Socialism, at the next meeting. This motion was carried unanimously. BOBBY also asked [redacted] to write an article for The Bulletin on it at the same time and [redacted] accepted.

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[redacted] announced that there was a change in dues schedules as follows:

"Unemployed and students	\$.15 per month
Housewives gross wages up to \$50 weekly.	.50 per month
Gross wages from \$51 to \$90 weekly	1.00 per month
Gross wages from \$91 to \$120 weekly	2.00 per month
Gross wages \$120 and over weekly	5.00 per month

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"At the same time, [redacted] introduced the Southern Solidarity Bonds For Work In the South, and all our members were to be assessed, or asked to give the equivalent of one month's dues towards this work in the south. Each Southern Solidarity Bond was self-identified as being for the purpose of helping to build unity of negro and white for brotherhood and equality, for better livelihood, for democracy, and for peace and advancement of our country. These bonds were in individual books of five.

[redacted] at this time also brought up the fact that in January, The Worker celebrates its anniversary, and all areas are asked to send in greetings to The Worker. We made a motion to send \$25.00 greetings to The Worker, and motion was unanimously carried.

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[redacted] was getting ready to leave then, so we established that our

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"next meeting would be February 9th and they would like to get a hall, or some place apart from a family, and the place of meeting would be made known later. They wanted to have it held February 9th in order to have it before the next National Committee meeting.

"We had a Program report from the Education Committee, given by [redacted]. He reported that [redacted] and [redacted] (ph.) had been designated to work out a program whereby we could have four or five speakers come up from New York to speak. The Education Committee set up a committee to function as an open Marxist group and the committee consisted of [redacted] [redacted] (ph.) and [redacted]. They were given the right to expand the committee if that were possible to help them out. [redacted] explained that these speakers and this program they were trying to line up was mostly for inner Party discussion and MIKE RUSSO took sharp issue with him. [redacted] said it was his understanding that it was to be set up on a much broader basis than just an inner Party discussion group and [redacted] tried to get [redacted] to take on the responsibility for getting a much broader group into a discussion. However [redacted] refused the responsibility and [redacted] at this point said she didn't think that this committee was going to function, that she didn't think [redacted] (ph.) was going to take an active part in it, that she thought [redacted] was too busy with other things, and that she didn't think [redacted] could be depended on. [redacted] said the big thing was to push for at least two speakers up here, for the Party people, and one of the speakers coming up is CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, during Negro History Week.

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[redacted] gave an additional report separate from this program business. He said the second issue of The Bulletin was out. He felt the Bulletin should be used much more extensively in ideological debate. He thought that all District Committee members should contribute, if possible. He reported that the Educational Committee thought it was necessary to develop a much broader Socialist forum, with some possibility of working on sales tax, auto insurance, city council (Boston), etc, and to develop some discussion in a Socialist Forum sort of thing on a much broader basis. There was much discussion pro and con on this. [redacted] thought the Party speakers should be utilized on a much broader basis than just inner Party discussion and [redacted] reported that the Education Committee thought that by developing a Socialist Forum on a much broader basis, working on a sales tax, etc., later on, you could develop it to the point where you could utilize a Party speaker.

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"Copies of The Bulletin for December 1957 were distributed at the District Committee meeting to those people who had not already received them. This Bulletin is self-identified as being issued by the Education Committee of the Communist Party of New England. In this December 1957 issue of The Bulletin, on the 6th page under the caption 'ANNOUNCEMENT', [redacted] mentioned that the Victory Forum to be held on January 12, 1958, would take place at the Community Church Center, instead of at the Hotel Bradford, as mentioned in The Bulletin.

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"In further reference to The Bulletin, the article captioned 'Time to Get Out of Our Shells and Into The Struggles Together With the People', was written by [redacted] according to his own statement made January 5, 1958. This article is on Page 2. The article on Page 3 by the 'Shop Worker', according to [redacted] was written by [redacted]. In the same issue, 'GATES at Ford Hall', Page 4, by 'B', was written by [redacted] according to [redacted]. The article on Page 5, captioned 'The Possibility Exists for the Peaceful and Constitutional Transition to Socialism', by 'L', was written by [redacted] according to [redacted].

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"The Bulletin was mimeographed by [redacted] for [redacted] [redacted] who is Chairman of the Education Committee of the CP of New England, and who, as Chairman, has charge of getting The Bulletin out.

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"During this meeting [redacted] circulated a New Years greeting in the form of a telegram from [redacted] CALABRIA, ITALY. I believe this greeting was addressed to the [redacted]

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"After the meeting was over, [redacted] was directed to [redacted] to pick up a letter to take down to have [redacted] mimeograph. This letter is the same one previously mentioned, which [redacted] agreed to pick up.

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[redacted] told us he had received greetings from the Massachusetts Commission. [redacted] had received one. [redacted] said there were supposed to be about twenty-five people receiving greetings, and so far they knew who fifteen of the twenty-five were. He said it didn't mean anything anyway, that the Commission was going out of existence and that they were not subpoenas but invitations. [redacted] was quite surprised to think that the Massachusetts Commission had invited him down from New Hampshire."

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An autostatic copy of the December 1957 issue of "The Bulletin", appropriately identified by [redacted] is being maintained in the 1A section of [redacted]. This copy was made by Boston Office photographer [redacted] on January 6, 1958, from a copy of "The Bulletin" furnished by [redacted] on January 6, 1958. This copy was received by the informant from [redacted] New Year's Eve, December 31, 1957.

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In addition to the articles previously referred to therein, "The Bulletin" contained:

An article "Get Down to Cases" by The Education Committee (page 1).

A paragraph urging the reader to write the President requesting amnesty for GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON (page 6).

An autostatic reproduction of page 6 of the above autostatic copy is being furnished by separate communication to the Chicago Office (GIL GREEN) and two copies to the New York Office (HENRY WINSTON and GREEN-WINSTON Amnesty Campaign Committee).

An identification of articles scheduled to appear in "Political Affairs" during the months of December, January and February, coupled with a request that copies of such issues be ordered now. (page 7)

An autostatic reproduction of page 7 of the mentioned autostatic copy is being furnished the New York Office for their file on "Political Affairs".

In addition to the above, an autostatic reproduction of page 4, pertaining to "GATES at Ford Hall" is also being furnished by separate communication to the New York Office.

An autostatic copy of the "Statement of Operations from May 1956 through December 7, 1957" of the Massachusetts Smith Act Defense Committee, previously mentioned herein and appropriately identified by [redacted] is also being maintained in the 1A section of [redacted]. This is a reproduction made by [redacted] of the copy received at the DC meeting by [redacted] and later borrowed the same date by [redacted].

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In regard to the previous mention herein to Souther Solidarity Bonds an autostatic copy of such a bond was made by [redacted] on January 6, 1958. This copy being that of the

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top bond of a book of five bonds furnished by [redacted] This copy appropriately identified by the informant is being maintained in the 1A section of [redacted]

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The originals of autostats mentioned herein were furnished to SA [redacted] by [redacted] on January 6, 1958; made available to [redacted] for autostatic reproduction by SA [redacted], and returned to [redacted] by SA MCGINN the same date, January 6, 1958.

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LEAD

It is recommended that the file on [redacted] be reopened in view of information set forth on page 13 for further investigation directed towards his inclusion on the Security Index of the Boston Office.

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ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

As of December 31, 1957

The following figures are set out according to states and territories, field divisions and Communist Party districts:

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES & TERRITORIES

Alabama	12	Massachusetts	121	S. Carolina	3
Arizona	24	Michigan	242	N. Dakota	21
Arkansas	0	Minnesota	155	Tennessee	0
California	2345	Mississippi	0	Texas	01
Colorado	9	Missouri	59	Utah	20
Connecticut	100	Montana	30	Vermont	2
Delaware	8	Nebraska	10	Virginia	17
District of Columbia	19	Nevada	0	Washington	201
Florida	48	New Hampshire	10	W. Virginia	0
Georgia	5	New Jersey	511	Wisconsin	125
Idaho	14	New Mexico	10	Wyoming	0
Illinois	650	New York	3500		
Indiana	100	N. Carolina	21	<u>Territories</u>	
Iowa	10	N. Dakota	22	Alaska	0
Kansas	2	Ohio	400	Samoa	11
Kentucky	7	Oklahoma	10	Puerto Rico	20
Louisiana	10	Oregon	60		
Maine	4	Pennsylvania	395		
Maryland	62	Rhode Island	11		
				Total	9,045

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	94	Boston	13	Sancho	20
Albuquerque	10	Indianapolis	100	Philadelphia	210
Anchorage	0	Kansas City	10	Phoenix	24
Atlanta	5	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	94
Baltimore	73	Little Rock	3	Portland	60
Birmingham	6	Los Angeles	1710	Richmond	11
Boston	142	Louisville	2	St. Louis	82
Buffalo	116	Memphis	6	Salt Lake City	30
Butte	44	Miami	40	San Antonio	0
Charlotte	21	Atlanta	125	San Diego	21
Chicago	600	Minneapolis	201	San Francisco	204
Cincinnati	63	Noble	6	San Juan	20
Cleveland	217	Newark	511	Savannah	1
Dallas	34	New Haven	100	Seattle	200
Denver	9	New Orleans	10	Springfield	10
Detroit	240	New York	3252	Wk	10
El Paso	5	Norfolk	0		
Honolulu, P.H.	11	Richmond City	10	Total	9,045

STATISTICS

<u>Total</u>		<u>States Included in Districts</u>	
District 1	150	Utah	4
		New Hampshire	10
		Massachusetts	123
		Vermont	2
		Rhode Island	11
District 2	3500	New York	3500
District 3	310	East. Pennsylvania	310
		Delaware	0
District 4	81	Maryland	62
		Dist. of Columbia	19
District 5	85	West. Pennsylvania	85
District 6	400	Ohio	400
		Kentucky	7
		Four "Pottsville" Counties in W. Virginia	1
District 7	242	Michigan	242
District 8	200	Minnesota	155
		N. Dakota	22
		S. Dakota	23
District 11	60	Oregon	60
District 12	293	Washington	293
		Alaska	0
District 14	511	New Jersey	511
District 15	100	Connecticut	100
District 16	125	Wisconsin	125
District 18	24	Colorado	0
		New Mexico	10
		Wyoming	0
		El Paso area of Texas	5
District 21	92	Missouri	90
		Illinois	2

DISTRICTS (Cont.)

District 22	0	West Virginia (less the four "Mountain" Counties)	0
District 23	50	Texas except El Paso area	50
District 24	10	Kentucky	10
District 25	60	Florida	60
District 26	10	Virginia	10
District 27	10	Alabama Mississippi Louisiana	10 0 0
District 28	10	Michigan Arkansas	10 0
District 29	24	N. Carolina S. Carolina	21 3
District 30	44	Montana Idaho	32 12
District 31	0	Georgia	0
District 32	20	Delaware Maryland Virginia	10 10 0
District 33	30	Utah	30
State of Arizona	24	Arizona	24
So. Dist. of Calif.	617	California	617
No. Dist. of Calif.	1730		
State of Illinois	640	Illinois	640
State of Indiana	100	Indiana	100
State of Nevada	0	Nevada	0

STATIONERY

Alaska	0	0
Florida	11	11
Florida State	20	20
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	31	31

which figure is also computed in Exhibit 12.

NOTE:

Districts Number 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 20, 23, and 34 have been either reorganized or combined with other districts.

UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL SECURITY INFORMATION

	<u>1/31/52</u>	<u>6/30/52</u>	<u>1/31/52</u>	<u>12/31/52</u>
Albany	10	28	60	75
Albuquerque	10	10	12	10
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	4	1	0	0
Baltimore	14	14	0	0
Birmingham	0	0	0	0
Boston	224	224	124	124
Buffalo	120	120	107	107
Butte	25	26	26	26
Charlotte	20	20	20	20
Chicago	977	977	920	920
Cincinnati	68	68	68	68
Cleveland	123	123	123	123
Dallas	0	0	0	0
Dallas	0	0	0	0
Detroit	242	242	242	242
El Paso	7	7	7	7
Evansville, IN	11	11	11	11
Houston	18	14	13	13
Indianapolis	125	125	115	115
Kansas City	10	0	10	10
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	0	0	0	0
Los Angeles	1,551	1,221	1,070	1,220
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Mont	41	41	41	41
Minneapolis	150	150	150	150
Minneapolis	277	276	276	276
Mobile	0	0	0	0
Mobile	0	0	0	0
New Haven	210	210	211	211
New Orleans	210	210	210	210
New Orleans	21	21	21	21
New York	4,124	3,770	3,201	3,200
Norfolk	11	0	0	0
Oklahoma City	19	19	19	19
Oma	27	21	10	10
Philadelphia	224	212	212	212
Phoenix	25	25	25	25
Pittsburgh	121	120	120	120
Portland	62	62	62	62
Richmond	23	23	23	23
St. Louis	101	101	101	101
Salt Lake City	10	10	10	10
San Antonio	12	12	12	12

COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY STATE DIVISION (Cont.)

	<u>3/31/57</u>	<u>6/30/57</u>	<u>9/30/57</u>	<u>12/31/57</u>
San Diego	66	63	61	213
San Francisco	714	721	688	524
San Juan	31	30	30	26
San Antonio	2	2	1	1
Seattle	123	128	134	293
Springfield	15	18	19	19
WFO	110	110	11	13
TOTALS	10,753	11,504	9,787	9,645

Note indicates significant fluctuations in membership.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Handwritten initials

SAC

DN. 1

DN. 2

DN. 3

DN. 4

Handwritten initials

DATE: January 23, 1958

TO : SAC, New York

SEC. 2

SEC. 3

SEC. 4

SEC. 5

SEC. 6

SEC. 7

SEC. 8

SEC. 9

SEC. 10

SEC. 11

SEC. 12

SEC. 13

SEC. 14

SEC. 15

SEC. 16

SEC. 17

SEC. 18

SEC. 19

SEC. 20

SEC. 21

SEC. 22

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There are being furnished herewith two copies of a chart showing the estimated Communist Party (CP) membership as of December 31, 1957, by states, territories, field divisions and CP districts as well as comparative estimated membership figures by field divisions for the past four quarterly periods.

This data is being furnished for the information of the New York Office and should not be incorporated in any reports prepared by your office.

Enclosures (2)

100-80632-1368

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 24 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp



OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

DATE: 1/24/58

Care must be utilized in handling and reporting the following information, since the very nature of this information tends to disclose the identity of a highly placed and sensitive informant.

The following is a report of highlights and most important statements made at the meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC), CP, USA, held in NYC on 12/20-22/57, as reported by NY 2179-S*:

A surveillance of CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th St., NYC, by Special Agents of the FBI, determined that the following NEC members were observed entering CP Headquarters prior to the first day session of the NEC meeting on 12/20/57:

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
EUGENE DENNIS
EARL DURHAM
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
JOHN GATES
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES E. JACKSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HY LUMER
CARL ROSS
JACK STACHEL
SID STEIN

[REDACTED]
ROBERT THOMPSON
CARL WINTER
an individual believed to be MICKEY LIMA

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
(1 - 100-3-104) (CP, USA - Counter Intelligence Program)
 - 1 - Baltimore (100-) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-80641)
- COPIES CONT'D

HCO:amm
(51)

JJK

100-80638-1369

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 27 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters

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NY 100-80641

COPIES CONT'D

- 2 - Boston (100-20779) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 100-16160) (MICHAEL A. RUSSO)
- 5 - Chicago (A/134-46) (RM)
(1 - 100-18953) (CP, USA - Organization)
(1 - 100-12890) (EARL DURHAM)
(1 - 100-18001) (FRED FINE)
(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 2 - Cleveland (100-) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (HY LUMER)
- 2 - Detroit (100-2050) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Philadelphia (100-31723) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 100-2427) (DAVE DAVIS)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (100-) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 100-) ()
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-26044) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
- 2 - Minneapolis (100-1878P) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 100-6379) (CARL ROSS)
- 2 - Newark (100-4284) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 100-2974) (MARTHA STONE)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-27747) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
(1 - 65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA)
- 1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA - Factionalism) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - Membership) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-81675) (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
(19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-89590) (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA)
- 1 - New York (97-169) (Publishers New Press) (7-2)
- 1 - New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (7-2)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-50090) (SID STEIN) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-27452) (BOB THOMPSON) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-13923) () (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-13473) () (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-19679) () (19-1)
- 1 - New York (65-5604) () (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
- 1 - New York (100-16021) () (7-5)

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Concerning the above meeting, NY 2010-S* advised on 12/17/57 that EUGENE DENNIS had instructed GEORGE MORRIS, labor editor of the "Daily Worker," to come to the NEC meeting scheduled 12/20/57, at 10:30 AM. This informant also reported on 12/19/57 that SIMON W. GERSON was desirous of attending the above meeting when the "Daily Worker" question was to be discussed. Informant also reported that [redacted] was also scheduled to attend on 12/20/57, as well as [redacted] Administrative Secretary.

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SESSION of 12/20/57

According to NY 2179-S*, the meeting was called to order at 11:00 AM. The agenda for the meeting was proposed as follows:

1. Reading of minutes of last NEC meeting and disposition of old business.
2. Keynote report with brief discussion.
3. Short report on status of CP organization.
4. Report on question of move to Chicago.
5. Discussion of the press.

Remarks of GEORGE MORRIS

GEORGE MORRIS reported on the AFL-CIO Convention. The tenor of his report was generally critical of AFL-CIO policy in that their convention did not take a strong stand against anti-labor practices in political circles. He said that they did not fight hard enough for the shorter work week and they have apparently been influenced by the great amount of missile projects going on at present.

Following MORRIS's report, the chairman asked SID (STEIN) if he had anything to add to GEORGE's (MORRIS) report.

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Unidentified Male

An individual whose identity was not known to the informant suggested that they should find out how the National Committee feels about the report, as this individual felt that the whole report should not be accepted.

Individual Believed to be BEN DAVIS

DAVIS said that the National Administrative Committee is a leadership body and sets policy. Therefore, they should discuss the report and its effect on the CP. He said some policy should be set on all these issues. They should look at the AFL-CIO recognition of the growth of the Negro in labor leadership. He said the Convention shows that the CP had the correct position. The colonial question should be discussed and a policy set. He said the AFL-CIO position is impossible.

Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, spoke and stated that the role of the CP in trade union leadership should be strengthened 1 - by taking a stand on issues important to trade unions; 2 - to seek out and deal strongly with issues.

He said the CP must think in specific terms regarding unemployment and anti-labor legislation. He concluded by stating that the role of the CP should be away from politics and back to basic issues of the labor movement.

Report on Press by JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL reported on the "Daily Worker" and said that the nine-month income for 1957 was \$116,000.00 and that their expenses were \$370,000.00, which produced a deficit of \$254,000.00. He said that in April he had made a report to the National Committee on the struggle to maintain the "Daily Worker." He said that heroic efforts were made to cut cost, such as a four-page paper, four days a week. STACHEL said that they cannot liquidate the press, but that you cannot operate a left press except

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on a deficit basis, but that which they strive for is a manageable deficit. He said that in the past ten months no progress has been made. The income weekly is less than \$2,000.00 a week for both papers, and that there is a weekly deficit of \$4,000.00. He said it was impossible to go on like this and that they must payoff those who were laid off in the last three months. He said the raising of price of the "Daily Worker" to \$.15, as a possible move, and also that the printing of the paper in Chicago, would be cheaper. He concluded that the paper cannot be liquidated without liquidating the CP.

The chairman asked if anyone wants to second Comrade CLAUDE's (LIGHTFOOT) motion that we discuss this report further before taking up another report. This motion was carried.

Unknown Male

An unknown individual spoke and commented on WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's article which appeared in "Political Affairs," which stated that the "Daily Worker" is the source of revisionism in the CP. The unknown male said that he wanted the "Daily Worker" retained as is, and felt that the program outlined by Comrade JACK (STACHEL) can be successful.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT stated that the "Guardian" ("National Guardian") has gained subscriptions in those areas where "The Worker" has lost them. He said that in 1938 the circulation of the paper was 30,000, but we should have strived for a circulation of a quarter of a million. LIGHTFOOT said they gave \$4,100.00 to the paper this year and not one cent to the National Committee. He said that Illinois will not meet its quota of \$10,000.00, but will only raise \$5,000.00.

Remarks of BOB THOMPSON

THOMPSON speaks and says that the Party can carry a daily press. He asserted that criticism of the paper has resulted in loss of subscriptions. He said that when the Party does not act on this criticism, it is bureaucracy at its best. THOMPSON said that the National Committee

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has criticized the paper twice and the low circulation of the paper reflects on the poor leadership in the Party. No section in NY has used the press to its fullest extent. Comrades BLAKE (CHARNEY) and [redacted] should take some responsibility for failure to properly utilize the press.

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Following BOB THOMPSON's remarks, the meeting was recessed for dinner.

The evening session started at approximately 7:30 PM.

Unknown Male Possibly JAMES JACKSON

An unknown individual believed to be JAMES JACKSON stated that the sales value of the "Daily Worker" related to its political personality. He said much has been made of Comrade FOSTER's charge that the paper was a seat of revisionism. I doubt FOSTER's judgment. The paper has lost certain credits in the eyes of world's Marxists and the news value of the paper to Party members is judged in that light.

Unknown Male Possibly BEN DAVIS

An unknown individual believed to be BEN DAVIS said that he has been warning the national office for months about the members' dissatisfaction with the paper and said he was just shrugged off. He said that the National Committee has made criticisms of the paper, but has done nothing about it. JOHNNY GATES has a propensity for using the paper as he pleases. I think some personnel changes ought to be made. I think JOHNNY GATES should be transferred.

Unknown Female Possibly DOROTHY HEALEY

An unknown female believed to be DOROTHY HEALEY spoke and said one thing the paper has to offer to radical readers is its daily appearance. I don't understand the logic of those who charge that the staff of the "Daily Worker" are liquidators. She said exactly the same trends are present in California, as in NY.

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Unknown Male Possibly SID STEIN

An unknown individual believed to be SID STEIN spoke and said we should hail the Soviet Union's perfection of the ICBM. It guarantees the strength of the Soviet Union over the US. This Party does not speak with one voice. There are many voices in the Party. Let us be a little realistic about this. If you give up the "Daily Worker" it's gone for a long time. You are putting "The Worker" in jeopardy. You have embarked on a course that will destroy the Party. You are messing with the life of the Party.

CARL WINTER

He said the main question is can we maintain the "Daily Worker?" Has anyone got a right to be surprised that the "Daily Worker" is on its death bed? Nobody has that right. I don't think JOHNNY (GATES) can kill the "Daily Worker" even with the bent of his editorializing. He said that he believed the fate of the "Daily Worker" is sealed, if not now, weeks from now or months from now. We should go to the Party membership and tell them. We can't have a daily newspaper - with the condition - we will fight to restore it.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that we do not have the Party approaching this problem from the right direction and makes a plea for political agreement to the solution to the problem.

FRED FINE

FINE asked are we really discussing who put the last dose of arsenic in the cup of the weekly. We can't actually make the decision whether we want a weekly or a daily paper, unless we have a political reorganization. He said FOSTER's article is just getting to the discussion stage within the clubs. I would like to see an orderly retreat. I am for pooling the money of the Party so that we can prolong the weekly and thus guarantee an orderly retreat.

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Following FINE's comments, the chairman announced that a motion be passed and voted upon Saturday or Sunday. The meeting was adjourned at 10:00 PM.

SECOND DAY SESSION, 12/21/57

Special Agents of the FBI observed the following NEC members entering CP Headquarters on the morning of 12/21/57:

CHARNEY
BEN DAVIS
DAVE DAVIS
DENNIS
DURHAM
FINE
FLYNN
GATES
HEALEY
JACKSON
LIGHTFOOT
LIMA
LUMER
ROSS
RUSSO
STACHEL
STEIN
[REDACTED]
THOMPSON
WINTER.

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The following individuals were also observed entering CP Headquarters, and were possibly in attendance at the meeting:

[REDACTED]
ARNOLD JOHNSON
BILL ALBERTSON
[REDACTED]
WILLIAM PATTERSON
[REDACTED]

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NY 2179-S* advised that the meeting on 12/21/57

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began approximately 11:00 AM, with a review by EUGENE DENNIS of the Party's work since the National Convention.

Summary of Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS said that the progress of the Party has been extremely slow and uneven. It has been highly inadequate and not at all commensurate with the opportunities. In fact, on the whole, the Party remains in the critical state in which it has been for the past two years. This disturbing state of affairs has given rise to justified dissatisfaction. The drop in Party membership is in large measure due to the injurious internal situation. While formerly united, we remain in fact sharply divided. This includes a real threat of a split. I believe that this must be objectively and painstakingly examined.

Our internal Party situation is all the more unfortunate in that it is coming to a head just when a number of favorable factors have arisen which would greatly improve its contribution to the American people. Conditions are maturing for affecting important and favorable political changes in the US. On a world scale, American imperialism has suffered fresh rebuffs, notably with regard to the Middle East, NATO. It has undertaken to arm all NATO countries with weapons equipped with atomic warheads and missiles. But, NATO has proven no more dependable now than in the past. In fact, it is undergoing a crisis. If anything, the developments of the recent NATO conference in Paris has underscored this fact.

In this connection too, Sputnik has had a tremendous impact on the world scene. In our country this momentous development has been met with mixed reaction, with a new bi-partisan clamor for increased arms appropriations. But, among the American people, generally it has led to a more positive attitude for negotiations with the Soviet Union, and to a curious concern over the shortcomings of American education, a progressive worsening of the economic situation. Production has fallen off, resulting in layoffs and unemployment. We are heading, at the very least, to a repetition of the slumps of 1948 and 1949. These developments have led to a sharpening of the class struggle. They highlight

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the increasingly sharp political and legislative struggles that are shaping up.

Within the labor movement, the expulsion of the Teamsters and Bakers unions and the threatened expulsion of other unions has posed new problems for labor unity in the face of growing attacks on organized labor. In the South, and elsewhere throughout the nation, particularly since the stirring events in Little Rock, the fight for Negro rights and for enforcing the Constitution has entered a new phase. In the process, headway is being made in reinforcing Negro-white unity.

On the civil liberties front, Supreme Court decisions, notably in the Watkins and Jencks cases, has been followed by a series of dismissals of contempt and of Smith Act cases. The problems of legality and the democratic rights of the CP, particularly in the labor movement, are far from solved.

A number of important state and municipal elections have taken place in Detroit, Cleveland, NY, NJ and elsewhere, some of which have many promising implications.

A development of major importance in the recent period is the appearance of the declaration issued by the 12 Communist and Workers parties, together with the peace manifesto signed by representatives of 64 parties. Its significance lies, in a great part, in the fact that Marxist movements in the socialist countries have been able to overcome temporary set backs and solidify their international struggle for peace. This is of tremendous importance for all the working class parties and for the whole world. I might also add that this over-all reference to some of the positive aspects of our work is made all the more imperative in view of some Party leaders to downgrade our Party and our post-convention activity, limited and inadequate as it is.

In the fight for peace, the Party took part in a number of things. We have exhibited a sound political reaction. We have been involved in the work of mass organization. Our open letter to President EISENHOWER was widely distributed. The Party has reacted effectively in a number of districts,

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to the development of the South and the struggle for Negro rights. This is especially so in relation to Little Rock. In cities, notably Cleveland and Minneapolis, the Party has participated in slum clearance and integrated housing. In NY the Party played a part in the adoption of the Sharkey, Isaacs, Brown anti-discrimination ordinance.

The report from the South, made by Comrade JACKSON to the National Committee, is indicative of the Party's contribution to the struggles in the South, with all their far-reaching national implications. The Party has contributed a constructive program in opposition to state and federal anti-labor legislation.

In some states the Communist trade unionists are participating, not only actively, but in an influential way in preparation for the coming contract negotiations. There were some contributions to the Wisconsin election, and in the Cleveland and Detroit councilmanic races. The FLYNN campaign in NY involved the distribution of thousands of pieces of literature, house to house canvassing.

In some localities there have been contributions in the struggle for constitutional rights, for example, the activities in California following the Supreme Court decisions on the Smith Act cases. In Cleveland and Chicago there were active campaigns against the Taft-Hartley conspiracy indictments now in progress, which have already involved some important segments of the labor movement.

As for the Party organization itself, we can report during the last few months to a certain degree of consolidation. The struggle on the ideological front has been far from satisfactory but some progress has been made. The circulation of "Political Affairs" which had fallen to a low of about 5,000 has been steadily rising each month and it is now 6,750. Also, after many years of decline, the sale of literature, generally, now is increasing. The publication of "Party Affairs" has been started and two issues now appear. Despite all the difficulties and problems it can be said, that despite serious losses, the Party remains a going concern. There are prospects for further consolidation and revitalization in the future.

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But it must be recognized that progress has been extremely limited and slow. That on the whole we are still far from finding our way out of the crisis, which has beset us in the past few years. In some states serious losses of membership and disintegration of Party organization continues. Many members are frustrated and some have placed the Party and its leadership on probation. We remain, on the whole, isolated.

We have also had serious set backs in regards to our Marxist press, "The Peoples World," the "Daily Worker" reduced to four pages. However, both papers are still in existence and every possibility exists not only for improving their content, but also for improving their circulation.

The national leadership of our Party has been extremely slow in upholding and carrying out the decisions of our Convention. In fact, because of the sharp political and ideological differences, the national leadership has reached a virtual impasse bordering upon paralysis in its functions. As a result, the national center has often been stymied in reacting to events and giving effective leadership to the work of the Party as a whole.

The national leadership has been subjected to sharp criticism by the entire membership. This criticism is directed not only at specific individuals or groups, such as the chief spokesmen of the pre and post-convention faction, but at the whole leadership. Whatever the particular responsibility of this or that individual, we must, all of us, assume the responsibility for the shortcomings and failures of the work of the national leadership. We must proceed to examine the reasons for them in an objective and self-critical manner. The Administrative Committee functions only in name. The delay was aggravated by the resurgence in NY of the serious factional situation which existed on the eve of the Convention and which has not been overcome. This caused delays in the election of National Committee members and of the NY State leadership, and contributed to prolonging and intensifying an acute factional atmosphere in and around the national center and in hampering its work.

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A similar situation resulted from the walkout of the bulk of the former state and county leadership, which was shortly followed by the cynical attitude and of such disruptive occurrences as the HOWARD (FAST) resignation and attacks on the Party. In this connection, it is necessary to note that organized factional activities extend far beyond and are still being carried on today by various groupings; especially by the ultra-left and rightist elements. Such activities must be branded as destructive. They must be stamped out once and for all. Problems were created also by the fact that although the national center was compelled to operate with a staff stripped down to minimum size, it has been called upon to do all that was done before and much more. There is a serious need to reappraise the tasks of responsibility in relation to those of the state, most of which are also functioning with a minimum number of full-time functionaries. There are also serious weaknesses in methods of work, which many of us have to one degree or another. It is noted that the national center has been plagued by a factional hangover and virtually all the leadership has been affected to some extent.

There developed on the part of some comrades a habit of launching political and personal attack on other comrades. There has been a growth of suspicion and questioning of other comrades motives and labels are still frequently used. Moreover, a dangerous form of political blackmail has been expressed using threats of resignation and withholding political support to influence political decisions. Such relations have made collective work almost impossible, and this could not help but be reflected in the work of the NEC, the National Committee, as well as the NAC.

Each of us has the task of determining his own role in this situation and work to correct his own shortcomings in this respect. We have continued to suffer also from the deep-rooted evil of bureaucracy. There continues to exist strong criticism by our members that leadership and membership are still separated by a gulf. That leadership still fails to compensate the membership and that arrogant attitudes of the membership persist on all levels of the Party organization. Such complaint, unfortunately, is justified. None of us

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is free of the evil of bureaucracy and we must examine our work carefully and critically on this score also. These are serious failings, but they too are not the basic cause of our critical problems in the national leadership. This lies rather in the fundamental differences which exist between us. The 16th National Convention established a generally sound organization on the main questions confronting us. Among these are the crucial fight for peaceful coexistence, the special role of the South in the Negro liberation movement in our country today, the fight for labor unity, the establishment of broad united front relations with other democratic elements and organizations, the propulsion of proletarian internationalism, the fight against both dogmatism and revisionism in our ranks and the charting of a peaceful constitutional American road to socialism.

Our chief task is to strengthen and build and consolidate the CP. The Convention also left many fundamental questions unresolved, partly because at that time we wished to maintain unity and preserve the Party, in spite of the deep-growing political and theoretical differences in our ranks. This it succeeded in doing.

Since the Convention, however, these differences have persisted and have become sharper, especially within the leadership of the Party. There are fundamental differences over the concept and the nature of the Party, differences over the possibilities of survival of the Party. There are real differences over the meaning of proletarian internationalism, and all of these differences are of a fundamental nature, going far beyond the questions of tactics. The problem of how to cope with these differences and how to work for their resolution has not been successfully dealt with yet.

In our struggle for policy, we must base ourselves on the following Marxist-Leninist proposition: That most left-sectarianism and right opportunism have objective roots in reality in the system under which we live. That the struggle must be conducted on both fronts with the main emphasis against that which threatens the Marxist line of our Party. The most important mistakes made in the period under review were left-sectarian errors. These left-sectarian

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mistakes were the cause of sharp attacks against the Party and the main reason for the unprecedented degree which was possible for big business and labor representatives to isolate the Party. The main task of the Party today is to overcome completely, the influence of left-sectarianism. In the process of carrying out the main task, the Party must struggle against right opportunism.

This estimate of our Convention remains. It is moreover stated in terms which are neither highly rigid nor one sided. It has been subjected to some interpretations which are dogmatic. Even while we accept the thesis that the Party's main task is to overcome the two evils of left-sectarianism and right opportunism^{at} must be predicated not on this alone, but also on a concrete objective evaluation of these manifestations at each given moment. Indeed, many of our leadership have been afflicted with a one-sided approach. Some lean in one direction, others in the opposite direction. Some have seen only the danger of left-sectarianism, others only that of right opportunism and revisionism.

If we are to make any headway in our ranks it is necessary to try at all costs to avoid one-sidedness and to attempt to see things as they really are. This trend condemns the 16th National Convention as a revisionist convention. It attacks the whole concept of a peaceful parliamentary path to socialism in our time. Moreover, under the guise of fighting for Marxist purity, it remains indifferent to the serious losses of Party membership and our struggle to preserve our Marxist press. This trend represents a serious obstacle to our work and a menace to the Party. We must be forced to root it out. There has also taken place since the Convention, the growth of an increasingly dangerous position. There are some who argue that there is no revisionist trend, because the revisionists have left the Party. This is most likely true as far as the majority of the Party membership is concerned. I believe that our Party membership on the whole has a healthy attitude.

But, there does exist today a definite revisionist trend within the national leadership and within some state leaderships even though it has little support among them.

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The essence of this revisionist trend, in my judgment, lies first in the lack of faith in the Party in its role and its perspective. Its adherents proclaim that the Party has no future and is doomed to extinction unless it is radically altered and abandons the chief principle of the Marxist party.

There is a question as to whether there are any universally valid principles of Marxism-Leninism, and in fact whether Marxist-Leninist theory has any valid basis in contemporary society. The view was projected that the Party should not be an organization based on unity of purpose and action, but should freely embrace within its ranks the most diverse ideological trends, including those who expressed and abandoned Marxist ideology. This view is reflected, for example, in the position taken by some Party leaders on (JOE) CLARK's resignation. The Party, as it stands, is regarded as little more than a caretaker's organization conducting a holding operation pending the formation of some sort of a broad socialist party embracing all ideological trends. It is also contended that it is the best people who have left the Party while those who have remained in its ranks are characterized as mainly hopeless sectarians. The essence of revisionism also lies in our established position as an independent American working class CP. In this connection there is in one form or another a policy disassociating ourselves from the world Marxist movement.

Criticism of the Soviet Union, regardless of its purpose, is elevated to a pinnacle? For some it has become almost a necessary part and every peace policy of the Soviet Union is labeled power politics or policies. While these have existed for some time, in recent months they have grown formidable proportions. These views have been voiced and defended in the name of dogmatism and of implementing the political line of our national Convention. This has also been accompanied by vigorous denials that the right danger even exists and by assertions that the struggle against both left-sectarianism and right opportunism constitutes a reversal of the line of the 16th Convention. Some comrades are influenced by such ideas. But, revisionism is no cure for dogmatism, if anything, it is worse than the disease.

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From this point the experiences of the Polish Workers Party are especially enlightening. Most of us know in October, 1956, the Polish party launched an all out offensive against dogmatism and doctrinarianism. The party found itself confronted with a dangerous outbreak that its First Secretary GOMULKA was to tell in his speech. There is no doubt that dogmatism and sectarianism were the breeding grounds which gave an impetuous growth of revisionism, as they always do. Dogmatism cannot be cured with revisionism.

Without a decisive appreciation of the revisionist trend in our ranks, we cannot effectively carry on a systematic day to day and constant struggle against left-sectarianism and dogmatism. The struggle must be conducted on both fronts with the main emphases against that which threatens the Marxist line of our Party at the given moment. These circumstances, and in view of the urgent ideological trend, we shall proceed to tackle the problem before us. In fact, the danger of a split in our ranks is growing and can only be averted if there is a determined effort by a majority of the leadership and membership, to resolve our differences collectively. Obviously, Party unity cannot be maintained by pious wishes and nebulous compromises. Party unity cannot be achieved on the basis of abstract generalities about the line of the 16th Convention, an expression which increasingly is coming to mean all things to all men.

It is my judgment that Party unity can be achieved if we approach the resolution of our differences with a desire and a collective determination to strive for unity based on our Marxist outlook and principles as set forth in the preamble of our constitution. And here let us soberly and carefully determine which urgent and vital questions should get top priority and must be disposed of quickly. Further, unity can be achieved if we collectively endeavor to impliment the main political direction of our national Convention, avoid a dogmatic and a one-sided interpretation of its decisions, wage an all-out struggle against revisionism, as well as dogmatism and resolutely work to apply, enrich and develop further the general line of the Convention, taking fully into account the course of events since February, 1957, including our own experiences.

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I feel it is essential that we place our views frankly before the membership and get their opinions and collective assistance. We must not only let our members know, as we now do, that there are majorities and minorities on many important questions. We must also let them know and without subjective distortion exactly what these positions are. Thus informed, our membership is fully capable of judging for itself, where it stands in rendering its own verdict. And, we here must each individually make a self critical evaluation of our work as a Party leader, and what role we have individually played in this difficult period of our Party life. Only in this way will we make any genuine progress out of the present critical impasse of the national leadership.

I realize that while I am endeavoring to carry out the main political direction of the Convention's decisions, and while I have constantly tried to wage a struggle on two fronts, sought to promote unity in the Party, I have made my share of mistakes. I have grown impatient with the paralysis which has stymied our leadership, and am deeply concerned with the mortal danger confronting our Party. This I am determined to correct. To facilitate a sound solution of our ideological differences and to help surmount the internal Party crisis, it is essential that we energetically and unitedly tackle many of the tasks before us in the coming year. Among other things we need a fresh evaluation of the program of activities. We must do the same with regards to the Civil Rights struggles along the lines of Comrade JACKSON's recent report to the National Committee. We must further clarify our objectives and speed up our preparations for the 1958 Congressional elections. All of these are tasks of major proportions which will require much time and emphasis.

With regards to the Party, the Supreme Court decisions, and other recent court decisions, necessitate a fresh and many sided exploration of our legal position. Further, we must undertake a more resolute fight for Party registration, consolidation of the Party, the saving and building of our Party.

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In the course of all this, we must constantly be seeking to solve the problem of relationship among Party and the working people, and mass movements. We must also strive to promote the concept of proletarian internationalism, clarify and advance our solidarity with the working class and the Communist movement. We must likewise carry on a more effective fight for Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Finally, there is an all important task of overcoming the weaknesses in the functioning of our national leadership. In my opinion the answer to this does not lie in sweeping organizational changes or in a general housecleaning as some seem to think. To be sure, the National Committee will have to give due consideration to strengthening both the NEC and the NAC. Probably consideration should also be given to the establishment of a national board or some other body which can act when needed, at least on a weekly basis. But whatever the final judgment on this question such changes are not the main answer. The main answer will be found in a renewed search for unity and purpose of action which will resolutely fight for our Party, in theory and policy, and which will steadfastly work to prevent further disintegration. A split in our Party is not inevitable, given a profound desire for unity based on our scientific socialist principles to work for a revitalization of our Party for a flexible and determined application of the line of the 16th Convention including the development of a systematic and relentless struggle against dogmatism and revisionism.

Male Believed to be SID STEIN

STEIN said that he agrees with EUGENE DENNIS that the situation is grave, and that there is a crisis of both policy and leadership. He wants to know why, after ten months since the Convention, is the Party in worse shape than other American movements. He said the DENNIS report does not claim to be a full meal, but that it is in the nature of a sandwich. STEIN then asks the question why are we in a worse position today as a Party? He said because the Party has not broken out of its isolation, but rather has become more isolated. We are becoming isolated from thousands of Communists, not only from the masses. He

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said the Party problem is that sections and districts cannot get a hearing and they cannot find their way into the mass movement. He said we must help to find a way to break out of this situation. STEIN says the Party must be organized to get the ear of the people. He cites FOSTER's article in "Political Affairs," and says that we are closing millions of ears to what we have to say. STEIN then mentions and enumerates the following points:

1. Have we done what the Convention commanded us to do?

2. How are we to develop a Party struggle if to ask a question is revisionism?

STEIN then says that Party members have a right to ask a question and said that GATES can question if Party policy is the best way to socialism.

STEIN said that we have retreated from the brief Convention attitude. He said the Party is for leading Americans in the struggle for socialism. STEIN in concluding called for plain common honesty in the Party,

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[REDACTED] takes the floor and calls for GENE (DENNIS) to document the attempts to undermine the Convention from the left.

Following the luncheon recess, the informant advised general discussion ^{took} place with speakers talking approximately 15 minutes each, but the informant was unable to distinguish identity of the speakers who generally indicated either agreement or disagreement with the reports by EUGENE DENNIS or SID STEIN.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FINE stated that the first instance of a split was in GENE's (DENNIS) report, and said there was no need for a split. He pointed out that changes had occurred in Communist parties throughout the world, citing the Polish

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Party where there were big changes not just on paper. FINE mentions that the CP, USA lost 7,000 members in the last year and said the stumbling block to Party unity is its inability to work around a dogmatic approach. He concludes by stating that the Party must work on new ideas.

The informant reported the meeting then adjourned at 7:30 PM, without reaching any agreements and is to reconvene the following day at 10:30 AM.

THIRD DAY SESSION, 12/22/57

NY 2179-S* advised that the third day session of the meeting began at approximately 11:00 AM, with the agenda announced as follows:

1. Report by ROBERT THOMPSON, on the 12 Party Declaration.
2. Discussion of reports by DENNIS and STEIN given on the previous day.
3. A special order of business on motions left over from the previous day.
4. Question of move to Chicago.

Summary of the Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON

THOMPSON opened his remarks by stating that he was not of the opinion that there were any members of the NEC that needs to be told by any other member of the NEC, that we are dealing with very important events when we discuss the conference of the 12 leading parties of the socialist world, exclusive of Yugoslavia. In light of yesterday's discussion, it is fair, however, that at least initially we will have certain important differences. In this connection I would like to say at the outset, that I have no illusions that my remarks in introducing this subject for discussion represent in any way a definite Party interpretation of these events. I should like them to be regarded for what they are, namely, an introduction to the discussions.

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Now in introducing a similar discussion of these developments in the NY State Committee, I choose as my jumping off point the meaning of these events on the standpoint of the fight for peace. In view of yesterday's discussion, I would like to choose a somewhat different, but I think equally valid starting point, namely the meaning of these events and the point of view of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. This struggle in this period is frequently finding expression in the form of dramatic context. Sputnik, one and two, go up, and Bobnik stays down. Almost overnight this gave a new understanding of the relative achievements of socialism and capitalism in science, education and psychology. A similar, although of course much more complex contrast, is unfolding in the field of political relationships and policies.

In Moscow you have a conference of the 12 leading parties of the socialist world, they publish a basic policy declaration. You have a conference of 64 Communist parties and they publish a peace manifesto. In Paris the leading imperialist powers meet and with a great deal of fanfare publish their decisions to the world. What have you got? In one is mirrored the political relationship existing among the socialist nations and Communist parties. In the other is mirrored the political relationships existing amongst imperialist circles. One presents to the world the example of the socialists' way of life as it exists on this planet; the socialist program and the policy of struggle for peaceful coexistence. The other presents an imperialist's solution, a divorce from the problems of the world. Now, no force, in American political life, seriously interested in effecting the attitude of the American people towards socialism or towards capitalism, can fail to deal publically with these events.

This is so because in these events is the meaning of socialism and capitalism. The meaning not so much as set forth in Webster's dictionary, but what they mean in terms is a political consciousness of living people. Socialism and capitalism are abstractions. Socialism hasn't been an abstraction for 40 years, and for all of these 40 years the attitude of the American people towards socialism has

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been shaped in the main, not by the idea of socialism, but by the reality of socialism as it exists. It has been shaped in the main by their understanding of the Soviet Union, the way people live in the Soviet Union, and the actions of the Soviet Union, and these actions effect such big issues, such as war and peace, in which the American people have a stake.

Now this truth that this is a change in a changing world. I'll quarrel with nobody that stands or sits on this proposition. I'll argue only on the question of the meaning and need for these changes. With respect to this problem, the nature of the change is this, that this socialist reality, which is affecting decisions of the outlook of the American people towards socialism, is not just a single country emerging out of the morass of the economic and cultural backwardness. Today a whole system of socialist states, the foremost of which, the Soviet Union, has achieved and advanced the level of economy and a very rich socialist culture and political life.

It is one thing for we Missourians to find the fruit of the pudding in so far as the superiority of socialism over capitalism is concerned in a study of statistics having to do with the relative rates of advance in the production of steel, oil and machine guns. It is another thing to find it in the example of the successful launching of the earth satellites and the failure of the so-called Vanguard project.

What we are witnessing here is the stage in the competitive struggle between socialism and capitalism in which certain new qualitative elements are entering into the picture. Now, the development of this magnitude has had to be and is taken into account by all forces in American political life. It is taken into account by the chief ideologists and spokesmen of the ruling circles. There is not any of the main spokesmen, from NIXON, SULZBERGER (ph) or LIPPMAN (ph), or any of the others who do not today concede that the Soviet Union is a giant and not a pygmy in the fields of production, science and technology. They insist on only one thing, and that is portraying the Soviet Union and the system of socialist states to the American

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people as political monsters and as war threats. The peddling of this picture of the Soviet Union has the same central importance in the war plans, the war preparations, of American imperialism today.

I think that this is the reason in part why the 12 Party Declaration defines the meaning of working class internationalism in this period. Today the vital interests of the working people of all countries call for their support of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, who pursuing a policy of preserving peace throughout the world are the mainstay of peace and social progress. I believe that this basic proposition in the document has the same importance for the American working class people as it does for the working people of any other country. That is why I believe that the document defines in part this period as being the period in which the main content of our effort is the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Within three days after these events, NIXON gave his official, ruling class interpretation of the developments to the American people. Editorial writers throughout the whole capitalist press, the Trotskyites and the Socialist Labor Party have all given their interpretations, but the leadership of one party has not spoken out in relation to these developments. That is, the leadership of our Party. It has remained mute. What is the reason for the silence of our Party? The reason has been given that it is a matter of procedure. Well, I don't want to brush aside the consideration of proper procedure within our Party. If it is true that the NAC has been explicitly denied the right by a higher committee of the Party, such as the NEC, to speak out in relation to events of this kind, then I think it should be changed and changed very quickly.

You cannot have a political party to act as a political party and play its role as a political party in American political life without that party having a leadership. I don't think that the main reason why our Party has not reacted to this development is by reasons of technique and proper procedures. I think that the main reason for this lies in the fact that as a leadership we do not as yet have a clearly defined position toward developments

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in the socialist world. I think that our problem is that we have a considerable section of our leadership which interprets the 16th National Convention to mean that our Party is free to speak out whenever there is something negative in the Soviet Union or other socialist countries that can be properly criticized. This does not provide the basis for our Party properly speaking out and utilizing the enormous constant developments in the socialist world.

I think we should work on the basis of the Convention resolution, adopted at the 16th National Convention, and also on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist approach, which is set forth in this 12 Party Declaration towards the problem of working class internationalism in this period. Now I think there is some comrades who may perhaps say that there is a contradiction in this. I don't think that there is any such contradiction, because in my opinion, in the main, the resolution of our 16th Convention laid a good and a correct basis for our Party's work in relation to this problem, fighting in this period for working class internationalism.

This tradition of international solidarity is a proud one. The CP continues it and considers it a badge of honor. At the same time, the CP recognizes that over the years it held certain wrong concepts of what its relation should be to other Marxist parties. The Party tended to accept uncritically many views of Marxists of other countries. Not all these views were correct, some did not correspond with American tradition. The Party also viewed uncritically the developments in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It mistakenly thought that any public criticism of the views or policies of the Marxist parties would weaken the bonds of international working class solidarity or bring comfort to the enemies of peace and socialism.

Now, about the general significance of the 12 Party Conference and Policy Declaration of the 64 party conference, the large meaning of these events for future world development provided primarily for the fact that they testified to the establishment of a new advanced unit in the ranks of the socialist nations of the Communist world. They marked the overcoming and surmounting of the very difficult

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problems and sharp dissention within the socialist camp that more than once during these past few years has made it vulnerable to imperialist attacks. It is this unity, solidly based on the bed rock of the identity of interests of the nations and peoples of the socialist world and of the CP. It is the unity that is not based on the reconciling and compromising of conflicting tendencies in Communist ranks. The unity that grows out of the period of sharp ideological debate and struggle in which powerful tendencies of the revisionists character constituting the main danger in the world Communist movement were isolated and defeated, and powerful tendencies of a dogmatist character were isolated and defeated. The unity that is represented in the 12 Party statement and in the peace manifesto is a unity that is based on the defeat of these tendencies and not on the reconciling of them.

The idea has been expressed in some of our initial discussions that the 12 Party Declaration marks a departure from the policy line adopted at the 20th Congress. It is hard to accept that with relation to the policies adopted at the 20th Congress. Reality is the exact opposite of this. The policy declaration is firmly based on the main line of the 20th Congress, on the main political estimates and theoretical concepts of the 20th Congress. In certain important respects it advances these lines, these concepts on the basis of the experience of the last few years. The policy declaration does not in any way represent a departure from the 20th Congress, but it does lay a very firm basis in Communist ranks for putting a stop to some very free-wheeling interpretations of the meaning of the 20th Congress and of its full decisions.

Now certainly, our Party is not called on to endorse the 12 Party Declaration, but I think we most certainly should, as a Party leadership, adopt an attitude towards an evaluation of it. We should do so with no misconception that this in some way substitutes for the political and theoretical initiative that must be displayed by American Marxists in relation to the problems we confront in this country in shaping our own basic Party programs of an American path toward socialism. But what it will do, in my opinion, help provide us with a sharpened understanding of the main

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contents of our period which must be the basis of our approach and of our program.

I think that we should give important attention to the central way in which the declaration deals with the role of the national freedom and independence movement, and their meaning from the point of view of advancing the entire fight for peace and socialism. Further, I think that a very important place in our discussion should be occupied by the manner in which the declaration defines and sets forth that which is universal in the science of Marxism and Leninism, while at the same time giving weight to the importance of national peculiarities.

I would like to say a word with respect to the question of proletarian dictatorship. CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT), in the discussion yesterday, posed the question of whether a discussion of this makes a person a revisionist. I think that any such attitude would be just plain stupid on our part. Of course, we should discuss this concept and any other concepts in our leadership. I know that in the state committee in NY, there is some very stimulating discussions by [REDACTED] (AL) BLUMBERG, and (GEORGE) BLAKE (CHARNEY) and several other comrades, with respect to the proposition that this question inevitably must be regarded in a somewhat different light by virtue of the fact that we are speaking of the transition in a different period. We are speaking of the possibility, of the assumption, of state power by the working class, not by violent revolution, civil war, but through the, so to speak, infiltrating of and transforming of parliaments and other such bodies. We are speaking here of the assumption of power that involves not the blowing up, so to speak, of the bourgeoisie state apparatus and its complete destruction, but it being taken over and transformed by the working class; an organ of bourgeoisie power through an organ of working class power.

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Now I think that there is much that is new and interesting in this new concept. But, I think the comrades are wrong when they think that this in some way throws in the question, the validity and necessity of a state in which the working class is the dominant ruling force which is the essence, of course, of the proletarian dictatorship.

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This has to do with the form in which the working class assumes this position of the leading force in the state, but it does not, in any way, in my opinion, throw in the question of necessity of any transition from capitalism to socialism being carried out under the leadership of the working class occupying a position of the state's power. That is my opinion, but of course, I have to put it within the context that I consider this or any other question, a general question for discussion and debate without any atmosphere of revisions or labels in the leadership of our Party. I think that we should also in relation to this and any other questions give careful attention to the way that the document lays stress on the fact that creative Marxism demands equally a recognition of both that which is new in any given period and that which is totally valid from the past. Either one without the other constitutes Marxism.

Informant reported that following BOB THOMPSON's report, SID STEIN moved that all motions based on DENNIS' report, STEIN's comments and BOB THOMPSON's report be presented for discussion.

JACK STACHEL then suggested that a committee be formed to handle such discussions.

Informant reported that STEIN's motion was accepted.

Motion Proposed by Unknown Male Believed to be JACK STACHEL

The motion proposed was that the NEC considers the efforts of the NAC in attempting to push through and make public Party policy in relation to the 12 nation statement and their refusal to even consult with the NEC is a very serious breach of Party democracy and an act of bureaucracy so roundly condemned by the whole Party at the 16th National Convention. That the NEC expresses the sharpest criticism of the efforts to usurp the policy making prerogatives of the NEC, and demands that there shall be no repetition of such action.

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JOHNNY GATES

JOHNNY GATES criticizes EUGENE DENNIS' report and says it is not GATES who is opposing the Party. The record will show that GATES voted with the majority of the NAC since the Convention. The real ones opposed are DENNIS' allies, DENNIS has gone over to their hands. DENNIS refuses to name the revisionists. DENNIS says he will not deal in personalities.

GATES says that he supposes that not all of us can be as decisive as Comrade THOMPSON, but in addition to being decisive, one must also be correct. GATES takes issue with the manner in which a number of comrades came into the meeting to present the 12 party statement. He says the fact of the matter is that the reason these comrades came into the meeting of the NAC was to use the 12 Party Declaration as an instrument and as a weapon to change the line of the Party and to change the leadership of the Party. He says that Comrade THOMPSON says there is no effort for any endorsement, but the only way that it is not an endorsement is that it doesn't contain the word endorsement. GATES remarks that Comrade THOMPSON says without mentioning names that there are comrades in the leadership who seize on everything negative in the socialist countries and purge out everything positive in the socialist countries. I would like him to prove it and to document it, to name names, does he mean me, when and where did I ever make speeches or write articles negative or hostile to socialist countries. When and where did I ever criticize that/^{which} was not within the context of comradeship toward the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Put up or shut up Comrade THOMPSON, or are you talking about some dream man. This is a technique comrade, because we all know the situation in the Party. The Party people fill in the names. That's the technique.

Informant reported that following the luncheon recess, an unidentified male, believed possibly EARL DURHAM, spoke, and said that the CP is isolated and that there are isolated groups taking their own paths. He said that the CP has to contend with the confusion of ideas.

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JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated that the present leadership is not capable and cannot do the job. He said that because of factionalism anybody elected to a position was immediately sat upon by opponents. A war was started against them. STACHEL said that he thought the Party can be conciliated and asked; what is the future of the Party with two sides? One group would disintegrate and go out of the Party, while the other would influence and dominate. He said we must conciliate. STACHEL said there is a two part solution:

1. Our goals that we like are concealed in generalization.

2. Our differences should also be concealed in generalities.

We should see both the negative and positive sides. We have not been fighting the disease, but concentrating on the patient.

In 1931-1935, three left wings took control of the Party. We can solve the questions if we stop fighting. The essence of the problem is where is the start. It is the fight for peace and coexistence. FOSTER says that strategy is prime and tactics are not.

In regard to the NAC statement, I took issue with it. I am not a member of the NAC, but attended the second meeting after the statement was issued. I told DENNIS he would be voted down at the NAC. The NAC made the form most important and did not consider the content. He said that he did not have the answer, but that he was for no showdown and no splits. We must solve our problems. We must not exclude anybody.

CARL WINTER

WINTER said that he did not believe a resolution of solving their differences is proper, but there should be resolution to solve the problems. He accepted the 16th Convention, but had reservations that it was a patched

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up job. He said the discussions we are having, which are cannibalistic in nature, should jolt us. We are in a desperate situation. We don't want only one survivor left. We should concert all our efforts of all our forces. We are lost in the woods. There are enough resources available to crystallize newly discovered central issues.

WINTER said that there are some comrades who are very impatient and that he would like to see the Party move decisively. He said there was a false standard raised by DENNIS' report and he would not endorse it.

In regards to the 12 Party Declaration, as given by THOMPSON, WINTER said he opposed the NAC letter, as he thought it was a letter to district leaders and the basis for discussion of the declaration only. He said he advised his state (Michigan) that they should discuss the declaration and not the letter as set out by the NAC. He said he felt the 16th National Convention gave out the procedure for seeking the answers. He felt they should not come to conclusions at this meeting, but should make available reports and comments to the Party. He said that they should withdraw the NAC letter as it has been misused and that they should let the Party act on the declaration, not on the letter.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FLYNN stated that she liked to listen rather than talk. She said that since she has attended only a few of the NEC and NC meetings, she finds now that there are segments of the leading bodies that are heading towards a conclusion of a split. She said she had confidence in JACK (STACHEL) and talked to him after she came out of prison. JACK told her that no matter how bad the situation looks to her, it is worse. FLYNN said that she was inclined to agree.

She said that if she had known what was going on, she wondered if she would have plunged right into activity. She said the house is divided and that we are doing so successfully what the enemy had tried so hard to do, namely disunify. She said, I find that I have to agree or disagree

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with each person who speaks and this is very appalling. SID's speech would neither mobilize nor inspire me,

The last ten years we fought for the life of the Party and civil liberties. The Smith Act and the Mc Carran Act were certainly meaningful in so far as the Party was concerned, I was refreshed by the campaign and the tour that I took. It was of great value to see 10,000 people. We held meetings, were on radio and TV. We even spoke in a public school which is something new and had several fund-raising campaigns. I don't know if I should say this in inspired tones or not, but we actually got five new people to join the Party during the campaign - young people.

While on tour I visited eight cities and spoke to about 1,000 people - not all Party people. In Milwaukee, the subject was the "Daily Worker." In Boston on amnesty. In Chicago, BEN GREEN and I saw the dean of the Cathedral and six professors. Within 48 hours they had a statement out. Here we have no action because our so-called friends sabotaged us. We were told we could not ask for amnesty when the case was in the courts,

I am like STACHEL, I have no solution. I suggest leading comrades get out of NY and meet the leaders of the Party. Permission (to travel) is a problem however. Here's what happened to FOSTER. He use to go meet the workers, but because of his health, he became isolated and limited to a small circle. I must state categorically, I will not be put in a position to, in any way, destroy FOSTER. His contributions have been invaluable.

FLYNN stated that she felt that the amnesty campaign had gone down the drain in NY, because of the factional struggle. She said the editorial in the "Daily Worker" on the occasion of the CP's 40th anniversary, was passed over too lightly and was very poor. She said the 12 Party statement is a mirror saying we are getting to be a debating society only. I think we are,

Where do I stand? I don't want to be lined up with a group. Our Party is based on a working class struggle. The road to socialism is not the immediate question, We

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are far from choosing what way to go. We should instruct the workers that a socialistic path is the necessary road. We want to build for the working class struggle and in their language. There is no smooth easy path ahead. We should resolve to unite the Party.

BEN DAVIS

DAVIS said we have no Party, just a conglomeration of socialist minded forces.

Unknown Male

Unknown male speaks and indicates he wants the statement placed in "The Worker," the "Daily Worker" or "Political Affairs" so that the membership can at least see the statement.

Informant reported that the chairman stated that a vote would then be taken on the "Contents of the Statement." The results were announced as 11 for, 7 against, 2 abstentions.

Unknown Male Belived Possibly CARL WINTER

WINTER stated that he wanted to make a statement on his abstention. He said he is opposed to any declaration by the CP on the 12 Party Declaration and its contents, before the contents are made known to the membership and their comments are known. He also said he was opposed to a premature public declaration.

Informant reported that the chairman then announced that a vote would then be taken on GENE's (DENNIS) motion regarding the NEC endorsing the letter sent to the National Committee. The vote was announced as 6 in favor, 11 against, 3 abstentions.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that she opposes the document being made public or endorsed until the membership has seen it.

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NY 100-80641

Unknown Male

Unknown male stated that he thinks the Party and the leadership have to speak out regarding the historic events and major issues.

Informant reported the chairman said a vote would be taken on CLAUDE's (LIGHTFOOT) motion. Chairman stated that if you vote against the motion you vote for SID, and if you vote for the motion, you vote for GENE's (DENNIS) motion. The vote was announced as 10 in favor, 7 against, 2 abstentions.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] proposed that a meeting of the NEC should be called before the next meeting of the National Committee. She said the agenda for this meeting should include a full discussion of the 12 Party Statement.

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b7c

BEN DAVIS

DAVIS seconded the motion and said that skill is needed for a statement to be published and brought before the people,

The chairman then announced that a vote would be taken on the motion that a subcommittee be formed to prepare and issue a statement and also a vote to be made on BOB's (THOMPSON) motion.

BEN DAVIS said that no vote was necessary on BOB's motion, as it was already voted to issue a public statement in the "Daily Worker."

FRED FINE

FINE suggested that a small subcommittee be formed to prepare a statement on the 12 Party Statement, setting forth specific theoretical questions, and to organize a discussion of the next meeting of the NEC.

NY 100-80641

BEN DAVIS

DAVIS said that it seems that the actions taken by the NEC should be sufficient, but some comrades seem to be tasting blood. DAVIS said that the comrades are paralyzed by the Party leadership. He said that what you are doing here is giving a free hand to the "Daily Worker" which is expressing a point of view, which very often does not represent the point of view of the National Committee. He said that we should pass some motion that the NEC can issue statements. He said that as it is now we can't say anything because the Party is paralyzed.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT stated that he is sick and tired of this arrogant attitude at meetings. He said that he does not get this type of attitude in his own district and calls for unity among leaders.

EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS said that the NEC has the right and duty in expressing its opinions to the National Committee.

Informant reported that in the discussion of the "Daily Worker," JOHN GATES wanted to continue publication, asserting that to discontinue would be nothing less than murder for political purposes.

Informant reported that the NEC voted 15 in favor, with GATES against, to refer question of discontinuance to the National Committee.

Continuing, informant advised that after a vote on discontinuance of the "Daily Worker," a motion was made and carried to send a letter to the National Committee members outlining a "plan of work for the continuance of the 'Daily Worker'." A motion was carried empowering the NAC to secure funds for continuing the "Daily Worker."

NY 100-80641

Informant reported that a motion was made by (MICKEY) LIMA and amended by (CLAUDE) LIGHTFOOT that a subcommittee be formed consisting of EUGENE DENNIS, SID STEIN, CARL WINTER and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, to meet in Detroit for the purpose of considering the DENNIS and STEIN reports for preliminary approaches for reports to the National Committee. Informant reported that an agreement was reached not to make available to the membership, reports of the NEC meeting.

An unidentified male spoke and said that the Party move to Chicago had been on the agenda for several meetings in the past, but has never been discussed. The unknown individual said we are approaching the time when the Convention instructed us to be in Chicago. I suggest that some provision be made that prior to the next NEC meeting for members to submit proposals for reconsideration of this move and proposals to be submitted through orderly channels.

Informant reported the chairman called for a vote and announced that motions, such as the move to Chicago, will be the first order of business at the next NEC meeting, and that any proposals or objections should be submitted at that time. Vote carried and the meeting was adjourned.

SAC, NEWARK (100-2974)

3/27/53

SAC, NEW YORK (100-85211) (77-6)

INTERNAL SECURITY
IS-C

Identity of Informant
Reliability

[redacted]
has furnished reliable
information in the past.

Date

3/27/53

According to [redacted] on 1/27/53, [redacted]

Detected [redacted] at [redacted] Headquarters and asked him about a
report which SID SMITH had made on "the number of dues stamps"
and wanting to know what SMITH meant when he gave the figure
of "3,000 and something." [redacted] replied that SID had given
all of the dues stamps for 1957 and that that they represented an
amount of twelve. SMITH said that the figure nationalities
between 3,000 and 3,500 a month. Both [redacted] and [redacted] agreed
that there should be some increase. [redacted] then said that she
might come into the office on Monday or Tuesday (1/6 or 7/53).

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In the event of extreme necessity to disseminate this
information, care should be taken to protect the informant's
identity.

- 1 - Newark (100-2974) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-745) (OP, USA FUNDS) (RM-1)
- 1 - New York (100-50000) (MONEY STEIN) (RM-1)
- 1 - New York (100-13900) ([redacted]) (RM-1)
- 1 - New York (100-2215) (OP, USA FUNDS) (RM-1)
- 1 - New York (100-2210) (77-6)

b6
b7C

100-80638-1370
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
APR 2 1953
FBI - NEW YORK
J. P. Waters JWA

A I R T E L

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33740)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
C I N A L

DATE: 1/31/58

CG 5824-S*, on 1/30/58, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING, for photostating, a letter on the letterhead of the Communist Party - USA. This letter is dated 1/28/58, is addressed to all Districts, and is signed by SID STEIN. It states that even though the Party membership drive began in November, very few definite statements have been received from the Districts regarding the number of people registered. It urges the Districts to submit this information no later than the 2/14/58 National Executive Committee meeting.

The letter also asks for dues payments and money collected for Southern Solidarity.

One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and New York Office. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-33740-1A9.

AUERBACH

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED)
④ - New York (Encl. 1) (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED) *enc made attachment*
 (1 - 100-74560) (CP-USA, Funds) (#19-1)
 ④ - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership) (#19-1)
 (1 - 100-131666) (CP-USA, Southern Regional Committee) (#19-1)
 (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN) (#19-1)
3 - Chicago
 (1 - A/134-46)
 (1 - 100-32207) (CINAL)

Joe
JEK:kw
(10)

Watus

100-80638-1371

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 2 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Watus

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

23 WEST 26th STREET

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

MU: 5-5750

January 28, 1958

TO ALL DISTRICTS

Dear Comrades:

The Party registration drive began last November. It is now approaching the end of January and as yet we have received very few definite statements from many of the districts regarding the number of people registered, the problems encountered in registration, the perspective you have regarding the total number of people you will register.

It will be necessary at the February National Committee meeting to arrive at certain conclusions regarding registration. This can only be done if we have the material already mentioned. Based on the actual number of people registered and the other information required on the registration forms, will the National Committee be able to make a decision whether to formally close the registration drive or to continue it.

We urge that you get this information to us as soon as possible and no later than the Feb. 14th N.E.C. meeting.

Secondly, we know that there has been some registration since we sent out the Southern Solidarity stamps. However, there has been no response from any of the districts. We urge that you send us immediately both the dues payments and the money collected for Southern Solidarity.

Comradely yours,

Sid Stein

SAC, LOS ANGELES

2/6/58

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

70

CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

On 1/22/58, NY 2002-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished photographs of documents then in possession of CP functionaries at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC. Negatives of these photographs are being maintained in NY file 100-80641-1B 401. Should any of this information be disseminated outside the Bureau, care should be exercised to paraphrase the information so as not to compromise NY 2002-S*.

Included in the photographs furnished by informant was an envelope which contained the following notation in longhand, "Upstate these transfers have been made." Inside the envelope there was a note which read as follows:

"Transfer to Cal. from Upstate

[Redacted]

from Schnectady to Los Angeles - Cal.

Transfer 4-29-57
All pd thru 12-'56
F.D. pd Apr '56"

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- 4 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - (1 - 100- [Redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [Redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [Redacted])
- 4 - Albany (100- [Redacted]) (CP USA Membership) (RM)
 - (1 - 100- [Redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [Redacted])
 - (1 - 100- [Redacted])
- 1 - New York (100-80638 (#19))

RJL:RAG
(9)

100-80638-1372

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEWARK (100-4284-4M-1)

DATE: 1/27/58

FROM: SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

RE: CP, USA
N.J. DISTRICT
MERCER COUNTY
IS - C

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU UNLESS CAREFULLY AND PROPERLY PARAPHRASED. THE INFORMANT SHOULD NOT BE IDENTIFIED WITH ANY SPECIFIC LOCATION OR ACTIVITY. IN SUBMITTING EXTENSIVE INFORMATION OR INFORMATION PERTAINING TO DIFFERENT LOCALITIES IN REPORT FORM, IT MAY BE DESIRABLE TO USE TWO SYMBOL NUMBERS. BUREAU AUTHORITY SHOULD BE REQUESTED BEFORE SUCH IS DONE.

[redacted] advised SAS JOHN A. HAAG of the New York Office and [redacted] of the Newark Office of the following information on 1/8/58.

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A Mercer County, N.J. CP meeting was held on 1/7/58 at the residence of PAT and [redacted] TOOHEY, Flemington, N.J. PAT TOOHEY was at home and participated in the meeting.

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- 2 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - 100- [redacted] (CP - registration)

b7D

- 1 - Philadelphia (100- [redacted]) LEO ARS (REGISTERED MAIL)

15-Newark

*3rd - Registration Act
65-382*

- 1 - 100-4284-4M-1
- 1 - 100-20913 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-24479 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-38593 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-35401 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-35659 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-40694 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-40598 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-26806 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-19492 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-19491 (PAT TOOHEY)
- 1 - 100-28433 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-4284 D (CP - MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-4284 AA (CP - MEETINGS)

b6
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b7D

VEM: JAC
(18)

100-80638-1373

100-80641-5575

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 28 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters

#19

[redacted] was at home but did not participate in the meeting at any time. Also present and participating in the meeting were [redacted] and [redacted]

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[redacted] stated he did not desire that the internal crisis within the CP would be part of the agenda for this meeting. He stated that this has been the main topic of discussion at all recent meetings and as a result nothing else is accomplished. Hence he proposed the following two topics be discussed.

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(1) The present economic situation in the country such as the growing unemployment, talk of recession and items of that nature.

(2) Check up on registration.

With regard to item number one, [redacted] quoted articles and items in the 1/7/58 issue of the "New York Times" concerning the growing economic struggle going on throughout the country. He quoted the "Times" magazine and various other publications with regard to the halt in housing, the large inventory of manufactured goods and what this indicates in terms of need for the Party to have an anti-depression program. He vaguely projected ideas that Party clubs and groups should consider in terms of working out a program along these lines. They should give some thought to this matter and give consideration as to what they might do in unions and various other organizations to prevent the effects of a depression being borne by the working people.

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[redacted] stated he was not making a definite report on the matter at this time and between now and the next meeting of the county committee all clubs should have at least one good discussion on this subject. Then he had in mind the calling of a section conference or general meeting of some kind about the middle of February to bring in people from all groups to focus their attention on the economic developments throughout the country for their opinions and ideas along this line.

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Concerning item number two, a check up of registration, [redacted] reported that [redacted] refused to reregister

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NK 100-4284-4M-1

in the Communist Party,

[redacted] made a report on the subject, but did not quote any figures. He stated [redacted] told him the industrial section had reregistered fully.

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[redacted] reported that her group was fully reregistered with the exception of two people and she expected one loss of these two.

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[redacted] further stated that the figure of 50 members who would possibly reregister, which was previously quoted by him, was "holding up."

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[redacted] further reported that six members had reregistered in the Hunterdon County CP Club (informant stated these would be [redacted])

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It was agreed that another Mercer - Hunterdon County CP meeting would be scheduled for the last Friday of January at the residence of [redacted]

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Informant advised that registration of Party members had commenced in Mercer - Hunterdon County and this was being done on a mimeographed form, apparently handed out by the N.J. CP leaders. This form bore the following headings:

Age
Negro or White
Industry
Union
Daily Worker
Sunday Worker
Length of time in the Party
Dues Status

Informant stated that the first column on this form contained a place where the person's name, initials, or a number could be placed to indicate the individual registered. He was not aware as to the method to be used by each individual club. However, the same form would be utilized and hence the same questions would be asked of each person registered.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE 1/20/58

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

~~CLASSIFICATION BY 6076 on 10-10-78
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE~~

Care must be utilized in handling and reporting the following information, since the very nature of this information tends to disclose the identity of a highly placed and sensitive informant

On 1/6/58 NY 2010-S* advised that EUGENE DENNIS stated on above date that there would be a full National Administrative Committee (NAC) meeting on Friday, 1/10/58 and this meeting will pertain primarily to the resignation of JOHN GATES.

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 3 - Chicago (100-18953) (CP, USA- ORG) (RM)
 - (1-100-18001) (FRED FINE)
 - (1-61-807) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 2 - Detroit (100-2050) (CP, USA-ORG) (RM)
 - (1-100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Newark (100-4284) (CP, USA- ORG) (RM)
 - (1-100-2974) [redacted]
- 1 - NY (100-74560) (CP, USA-FUNDS) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-87211) (CP, USA-FACTIONALISM) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-80638) (CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-4931) (CP, USA) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (7-2)
- 1 - NY (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-50690) (SID STEIN) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-13923) [redacted] (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-467) [redacted] (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-14606) (JOE CLARK) (20-11)
- 1 - NY (100-24638) [redacted] (12-16)
- 1 - NY (100-80641) [redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-80638-1374
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NY 100-80641

The following is a report of the highlights and most important statements made at the NAC, CP, USA, meeting held in the third floor board room, at CP Headquarters, on 1/10/58, as reported by NY 2179-S*:

According to NY 2179-S* the following individuals were believed to be in attendance:

EUGENE DENNIS
FRED FINE
JACK STACHEL
CARL WINTER
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

[REDACTED]
SID STEIN
BEN DAVIS

[REDACTED]

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Unknown Individual Believed To Be FRED FINE

The meeting opened with a discussion of the resignation of JOHN GATES as Editor of the "Daily Worker" and from the CP Movement.

An individual believed by informant to be FRED FINE opened the discussion and said that he believed that any statement issued by the CP must be geared to the capitalistic press as well as the point of view of the "Daily Worker". He said that we should not call him "an S.O.B. and we should not pass judgment".

Individual Believed To Be JACK STACHEL

STACHEL, in his remarks, stated that the Party is anxiously awaiting what we are going to say and "the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

pitfall is the factionalism issue". STACHEL remarked further that even now he (GATES), is going to have the last word.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FINE, in his remarks, stated, with regard to JOE CLARK, that you cannot say he was driven out of the Party. FINE said that he did not believe that JOHNNY (GATES), left the Party as a "victim". He stated that he was more concerned with the thousands in the Party who may or may not agree with JOHNNY but who will be affected by what may be called "defeatism".

Unknown Male Believed To Be CARL WINTER

WINTER suggested that the NAC should make a statement and then answer anything that he (GATES), may say at his press conference. WINTER further remarked that we should not let what JOHNNY says further the disruption of the Party.

Unknown Male Believed To Be CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

An individual, believed by informant to be CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, spoke and said that we must point out that there are many ideological differences between JOHNNY GATES and the CP. He then remarked that, in his opinion, he did not believe that GATES's resignation will give us the unanimity that we need.

Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, spoke and said that he opposed GATES's resignation -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

not for GATES's sake, but for the Party's sake. He said that we must point out what we disagree with JOHNNY (GATES), on and we must show his contempt for us.

Unknown Male Believed Possibly CARL WINTER

An individual, believed by informant to be CARL WINTER, spoke and inquired if they should show or point out if these resignations are a part of a new group. He said, in his opinion, it is not, and there should be a statement as to the political outlook that has been developing in the Party and show the serious harm it is doing to the Party.

Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke and proposed that EUGENE DENNIS be delegated to respond to this question before the National Executive Committee (NEC).

Remarks of FRED FINE

FINE stated that he wanted EUGENE DENNIS to act as spokesman for the Party before the press. He said, however, that he wants a decision from the NAC regarding the release.

Remarks of

spoke and said, "if I was authorized to make a statement, it would be good riddance".

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Remarks of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FLYNN stated that it was too bad that the NEC did not accept GATES's resignation the last time. She said if they had done this, he would not have a leg to stand on, and that he would not be having a press conference.

Informant then reported that EUGENE DENNIS then read a statement prepared by the NAC regarding GATES's resignation

Remarks of CARL WINTER

WINTER then stated, in his opinion, he did not believe that the NAC could accept GATES's resignation

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS stated that he believed the statement to be too long and said they should "characterize the man and what he has done"

Remarks of CARL WINTER

WINTER commented that there are many things we would like to add to the statement but I do not believe there is anything we don't want in it

Remarks of FRED FINE

FRED FINE discussing the statement, said that it will be criticized by many people.

NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke and said that he was all for a united and adequate statement and not just any statement and was of the opinion that JIM's (JACKSON), statement is better. In criticizing the statement, unknown individual said that he does not like the statement, that the closing of the "Daily Worker" was one of the reasons for GATES's resignation, saying that JOHN GATES was on his way out long before this. This individual also referred to the portion of the statement in the use of the word split and the word destroy the Party. He said that he would prefer the use of something not so drastic as "destroy".

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that he'd like the statement prepared and accepted in order to make the evening edition, "as the press has been after us all afternoon". He recommended that the statement be out before 4:00 PM.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FINE stated that he wanted a unanimous decision without exceptions and reservations, remarking that if we do not do this, we all might as well go out and write separate statements. He stated that if we are unable to get a unanimous statement, we might as well fold up.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that he wants to put into the release that the statement was a unanimous decision of this committee

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-8046

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS commented that he has been the sharpest critic of GATES and said that GATES took every chance he had to destroy our Party and that he was in favor of a statement without reservations.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FINE stated that GATES is a product of the crisis in the Party but that he must take full responsibility for his actions. He said, however, if the Party remains undecided, the predications of GATES will become close to the truth.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
FINE again complained about not getting a unanimous statement, saying that such action undermines Party unity.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL then spoke and objected to BEN DAVIS's not accepting fully the statement.

Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke, stating that this statement is not a final document as it will not be perfect especially after a few days from now. This individual recommended passage of the statement right now.

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NY 100-80641

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS spoke and said the next NAC meeting will probably be the first weekend in March.

Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke and said that he wanted a three day NAC meeting to be held in Chicago, Illinois, and said that the savings that would result from expenses should be given to members who lose pay as a result of their attendance at the meeting.

~~⊗~~
Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant then referred to "The Worker", specifically referring to the issue of January 26th. He said that because it costs \$800 per week to publish the paper, we must have this money in advance. He said further that they must have \$150 guarantee to publish "The Worker". He recommended the subsidiary of \$40 a week and proposed increased price to \$.15. He recommended that the committee authorize BILL LAWRENCE to turn over money when he gets it to the paper and then refers to BILL LAWRENCE paying out the severance pay and the back pay. In discussing the question of severance pay, the unknown male said they needed \$1200 for the entire staff.

Unknown Male

Another individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke and said that the retaining of 5 more individuals for a couple of more weeks is too much and recommended severance pay in the amount of \$1500. This

NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

unknown individual said that he would have to get re-training in another field as newspaper work is dead for him, and feels that \$1500 is the minimum severance pay that he can accept.

[redacted] The unknown male then asked what do you think [redacted] Individual believed to be [redacted] remarked that his economic outlook was very poor.

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Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL spoke and said that the severance pay should depend upon the money that is available. He recommended that they should pay whatever they can every month.

Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke and recommended that the NAC reaffirm the previous agreement regarding severance pay and that they should give over and above whatever there is available. Continuing, this unknown individual said that this much was supposed to be turned over to us but we did not get it. He said that [redacted] told them that in a couple of weeks they should be able to get the money.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS said that [redacted] cannot do anything without authority. He said the staff will pay our obligations as soon as we can but was of the opinion that this was the wrong procedure.

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Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke and said that we will get the money

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

in small amounts over a long period of time, but remarked, "however, if you people want to, you can give us the entire amount now". The unknown individual continued, saying that there was resentment and anger among the paper's employees and said they need this money. ~~C~~

Informant reported that there was then much discussion as to when the next meeting of the NEC and the National Committee (NC) would be held, with FRED FINE recommending the NC meeting to be held February 8 and 9, and EUGENE DENNIS of the opinion that the NEC be held the end of January. DENNIS suggested that another meeting be held to iron out the problems that would be set out in a letter to the NEC and the NC as well as to include in that letter the question of where the meeting will be held. ~~C~~

Remarks of FRED FINE

FRED FINE remarked that he had spoken to HANK (ARON), and asked for funds to attend the Labor Conference to be held on the West Coast. He said that he was advised that there were no funds available. FINE stated "either remove me from this office, or provide me with the appropriate atmosphere to carry it out". ~~C~~

Informant reported that the meeting concluded with the recommendation from EUGENE DENNIS to FRED FINE that he take out a loan. ~~C~~

On 1/13/58, NY 2002-S* made available the press release issued by the NAC of the CP regarding their statement on the resignation from the CP of JOHN GATES. ~~C~~

The National Administrative Committee of the Communist Party yesterday, (Friday), made public the following statement on the resignation from the Party of JOHN GATES:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

"By his own act John Gates has left the Communist Party. His Klieglighted resignation comes as something of an anti-climax to Communists, who have had a series of abortive resignations from Gates. The NAC recommends to the party's National Committee that this resignation be accepted.

"Despite serious political differences with his colleagues, Gates was afforded every opportunity to express his viewpoint within the framework of the Communist Party and its constitution.

"For instance, while there were serious differences over the suspension of the DAILY WORKER, the recommendation for that suspension was made by an overwhelming majority decision. Elementary democracy requires the acceptance of that decision, whatever the ultimate assessment of the reasons for the suspension may be. Gates' resignation today can objectively only harm the job of maintaining and building the weekly WORKER, the pre-requisite to the resumption in the not-too-distant future of a daily working class paper.

"If Gates really wanted to stand on the decisions of the party's 16th national convention -- and not build a new platform outside those decisions -- his duty was to remain within our ranks, fight for these decisions, and subordinate his views to the majority.

"Gates states that he is still motivated by the desire to work for socialism. But to split and fragmentize the Communist Party is not the way to work for socialism. To destroy the Communist Party is the ardent desire of those like the New York Times -- authoritative spokesman of monopoly capital and arch-enemy of socialism -- as indicated anew in its editorial of today.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"At a later date the appropriate party bodies will consider in detail the political views of Gates and his expressed opposition to our party. At this time we can say of Gates, as the National Administrative Committee said of Joseph Clark in a statement to which Gates subscribed on Sept. 11, 1957:

"He has lost his theoretical bearings. Unable to see that this crisis is a passing though painful stage in the Party's life, he has lost faith in the Party and its future. He cannot see that the Party is moving to overcome the crisis, and that it has a future of new and significant growth and influence.

"His position is that the "hope and promise" of the 16th National Convention have not been fulfilled. The truth of the matter is that the promises of the 16th convention are being fulfilled. (Recent meetings and decisions)..., are proof positive that the National Committee is determined to carry forward the decisions of the 16th national convention.

"Today the Communist Party is engaged in a determined effort, along with millions of other Americans, to win the complete integration of the Negro people in the nation's life, to ban the H-bomb, and to advance the economic welfare of the American people."

"For some time Gates has been politically dis-oriented and has been challenging many of the basic principles of scientific socialism, Marxism. He has utilized to the hilt the right of dissent within the organization-- coupled with interviews in the commercial press -- to carry on a sharp struggle for his views. Now Gates has become an avowed opponent of the Communist Party and its Marxist, American workingclass program.

"On our part we are confident that the overwhelming majority of the Communist Party and its friends will stand

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NY 100-80641

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

staunchly by the Party in its fight for peace, democracy, security and socialism, as outlined by our Convention. We are confident that, far from turning their backs on our movement, they will extend themselves to strengthen the Communist Party and its mass ties, and help build the circulation of the weekly Worker. Such a re-building of the workingclass press is vital for building a stronger party and Marxist movement capable of making its full contribution in the great struggle for a democratic America and a world of peace and abundance."

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 11-21-2011

- 13 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM.....UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TSM
JAC

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-4) DATE: 2/7/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
MEMBERSHIP
NEW YORK DISTRICT
IS-C

ReBulet, 11/29/57.

As requested, there is outlined below the complete organizational structure of the CP, New York District, as known at this time. In addition there are identified by counties, sections, clubs, and positions, where known, the active CP members in the New York Division as of 2/1/58.

The symbol (T) after a name indicates that the individual can be only tentatively identified as a CP member at this present time. For purpose of control, numbers of the NYO case files have been included. For security reasons the security informants have not been listed with their sections and clubs.

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-4)
- 1 - New York (100-26603) (NY STATE CP)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C40) (BRONX)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C41) (QUEENS)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C42) (NEW YORK)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C43) (KINGS)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C44) (WESTCHESTER)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C45) (NASSAU)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C39) (RICHMOND)
- 1 - New York (100-132430) (INDUSTRIAL DIVISION)
- 1 - New York (100-80638)

cc destroyed as of 2/28/58
~~ASAC 12-13~~ ~~12-14~~ ~~12-15~~ ~~12-16~~ ~~12-17~~ ~~12-18~~ ~~12-19~~ ~~12-20~~ ~~12-21~~ ~~12-22~~ ~~12-23~~ ~~12-24~~ ~~12-25~~ ~~12-26~~ ~~12-27~~ ~~12-28~~ ~~12-29~~ ~~12-30~~ ~~12-31~~
 Destroyed 3/23/60
 p. 2A inserted 4/15/58-see ser. 1494. jpp
 11/9/60
 net

100-80638-1375

NY 100-80638

Over-all statistics are as follows:

- (1) Estimated number of CP members: 3292
- (2) Number of members identified to date: ~~1692~~ 1705
- (3) Number tentatively identified as CP members to date: ~~197~~ 201

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On 1/22/58, advised that as of 1/20/58, 1750 CP members had been registered by the CP for the New York District.

RCB:RCM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEW YORK DISTRICT

	<u>Page</u>
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NY 100-80638

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

New York District

State Staff

DAVIS, BENJAMIN J., JR., Chairman
CHARNEY, GEORGE BLAKE, Executive Secretary
WATT, GEORGE, Organizational Secretary
LAWRENCE, WILLIAM, Membership and Finance
WEINSTONE, WILLIAM, Educational Director
ALBERTSON, WILLIAM, Labor Secretary
BLUMBERG, ALBERT (Temp), Legislative Director
Director of Negro Affairs - OPEN

State Board

ALBERTSON, WILLIAM

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (Singer)

CHARNEY, GEORGE BLAKE

DAVIS, BENJAMIN J., JR.

[REDACTED]

GERSON, SIMON W.

[REDACTED]

LAWRENCE, WILLIAM

[REDACTED]

PATTERSON, WILLIAM

NY 100-80638



SCHAPPES, MORRIS. U.



WEINSTONE, WILLIAM

WEISS, MAX



State Committee



ALBERTSON, WILLIAM



BERRY, ABNER

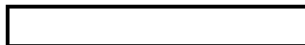
BLUMBERG, ALBERT



CHARNEY, GEORGE BLAKE



COLON, JESUS



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NY 100-80628

DAVIS, BENJAMIN J. (JR.)

[REDACTED]

GATES, LILLIAN

GERSON, SIMON W.

GORDON, MAX

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LAWRFNCE, WILLIAM

[REDACTED]

PATTERSON, WILLIAM L.

[REDACTED]

ROBESON, PAUL (JR.)

[REDACTED]

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NY 100-80638

SCHAPPES, MORRIS U.



WEINSTONE, WILLIAM.

WEISS, MAX



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NY 100-80638

BRONX COUNTY CP

BRONX COUNTY CP COMMITTEE

COUNTY STAFF

ADES, BERNARD

Chairman

100-12483

Financial Secretary
and Membership
Director

100-133346

Mass Organizations

100-120473

Press Director

100-107444

Educational Director

100-128796

GENERAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

100-83228

100-319

100-96899

100-69941

100-112422

100-81658

100-84052

100-13447

100-83790

100-62881

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NY 100-80638

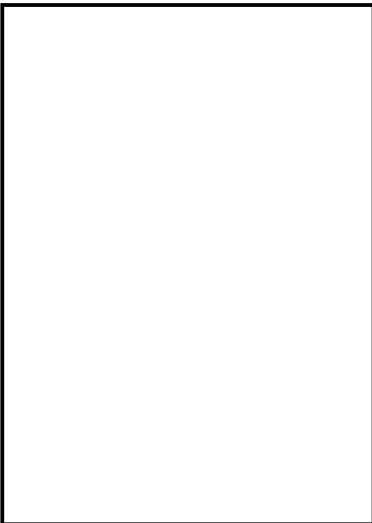
It is to be noted that as of 2/1/58 there was no concise club breakdown within the various sections of the Bronx County CP. After approximately one year of continual reorganization, in which as many as three clubs within a section were combined, there are no longer any meetings held which are restricted to the members of one club. Since approximately September, 1957, all known CP meetings have been held on a Section, or Combined Club, basis. For this reason the names of the clubs which were known to be in existence as of 2/1/58 are set forth under the appropriate section, but the membership is listed by section rather than by club.

BRONX COUNTY CP SECTIONS (7)

NORTHWEST SECTION

SECTION COMMITTEE

ADES, BERNARD (above)



ve)
e)

- 100-25821
- 100-128832
- 100-132945
- 100-118144
- 100-123890
- 100-101046

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NY 100-80638

CLUBS

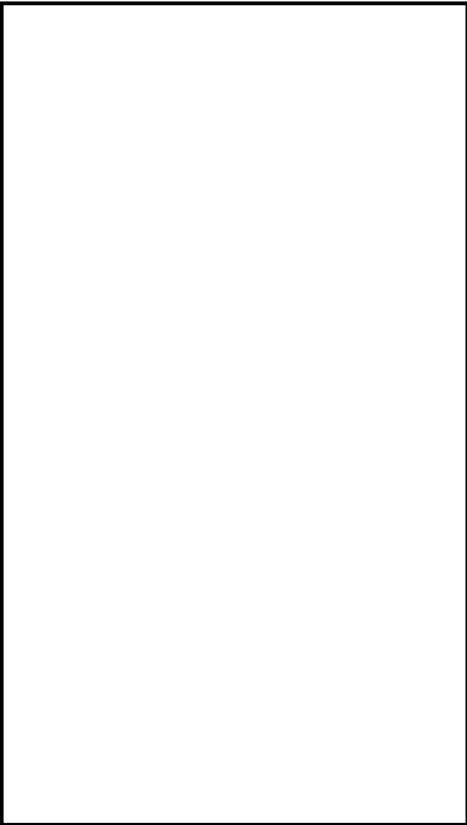
Kingsbridge Area Club

Van Cortlandt Area Club

Mosholu Area Club

MEMBERSHIP

ADES, BERNARD (above)



100-70425

100-83402

100-132671

100-132675

100-114269

100-106636

100-83577

100-102126

100-75418

100-107631

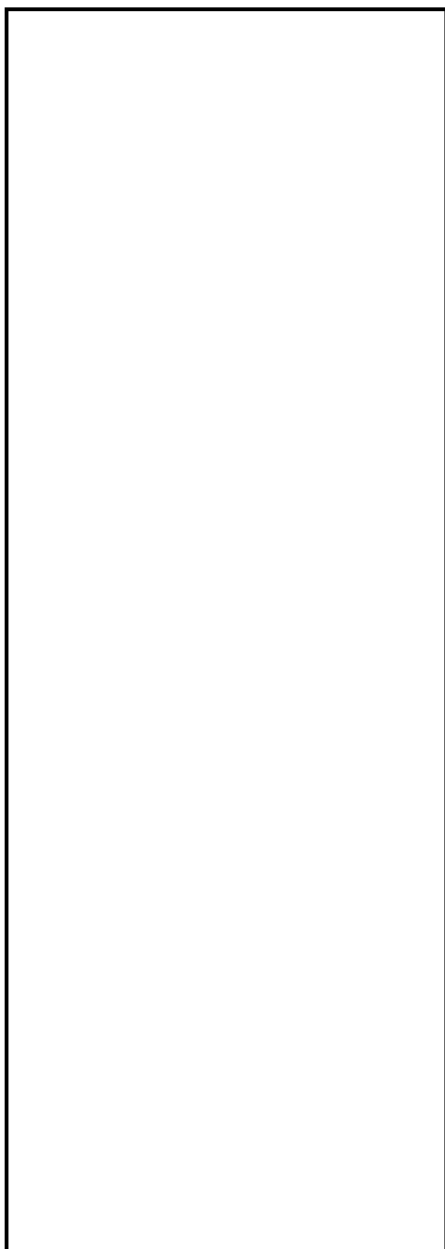
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100-101862

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- 4 -

NY 100-80638



100-82384

100-106852

100-71970

100-83426

100-130840

100-102933

100-133937

100-108699

100-124143

100-87248

100-76567

100-108754

100-74951

100-52710

100-81130

100-130948

100-131102

100-68642

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b7C

NY 100-80638



(above)
above)

(above)
(above)

100-93490

100-93120

100-129434

100-71163

100-130860

100-85903

100-72693

100-81137

100-111936

b6
b7c

100-66345

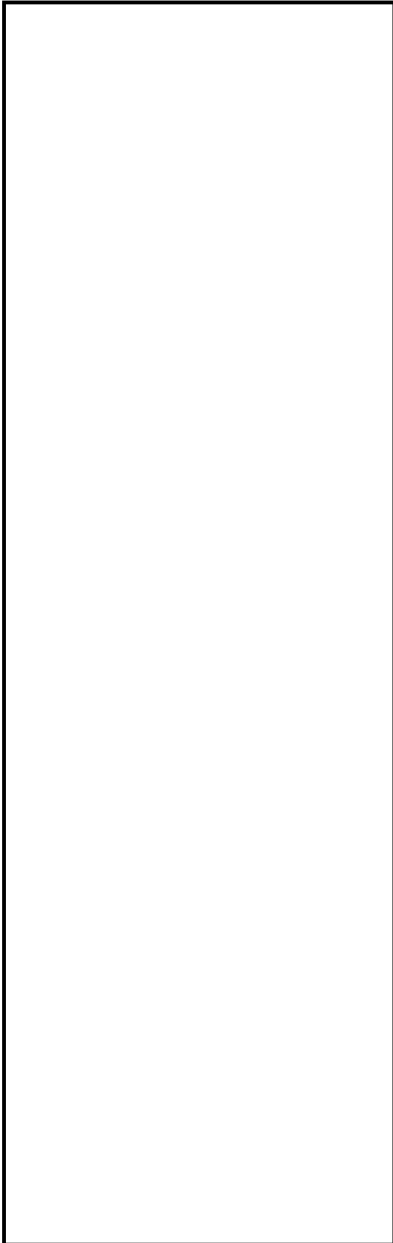
100-85341

100-83432

100-115585

100-64211

NY 100-80638



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- 100-7767
- 100-120276
- 100-132507
- 100-130963
- 100-130964
- 100-58148
- 100-133178
- 100-113142
- 100-111325
- 100-133788
- 100-116062
- 100-74680
- 100-94040

- 100-85337
- 100-36068
- 100-96572
- 100-113156
- 100-113164

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NY 100-80638



ve)

100-106770

100-74464

b6
b7C

MIDWEST SECTION

SECTION COMMITTEE



ove)

100-47060

100-62050

b6
b7C

100-71200

MEMBERSHIP



(above)

(above)

bove)

100-127864

100-125370

100-85576

100-129449

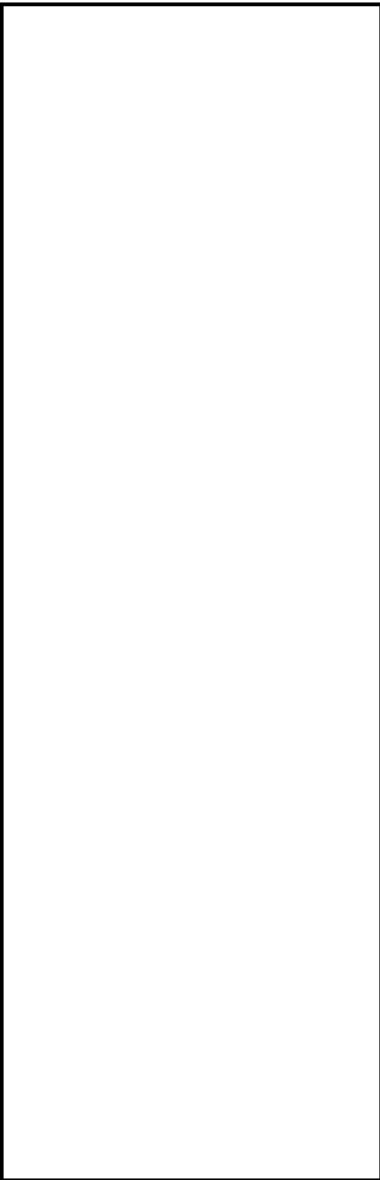
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- 8 -

NY 100-80638



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100-105742
100-122902
100-129331
100-62938

100-84107
100-88609
100-102591
100-59088
100-96249
100-77284
100-77976
100-35399
100-129336

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

WEISS, MAX



100-18672

100-68400

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NORTHEAST SECTION

SECTION COMMITTEE



(above)

(above)

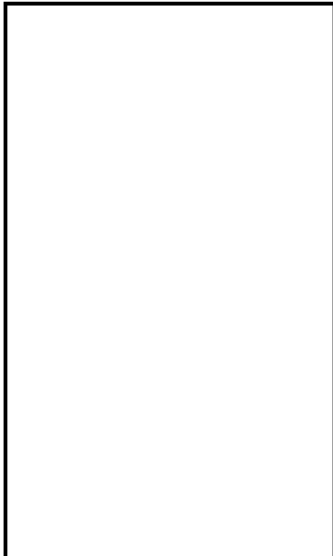
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100-106964

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100-133481

MEMBERSHIP



(above)

(above)

100-89179

100-23773

100-92945

100-84667

100-74210

100-85564

b6
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100-89011

NY 100-80638



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100-8902
100-83378
100-115 212
100-123881
100-83283
100-111819
100-83163
100-13204
105-18272

100-82975
100-78523
100-103942

100-53114
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100-105962
100-66043

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NY 100-80638



(above)

100-78589

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EAST BRONX SECTION

SECTION COMMITTEE



(above)

(above)

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CLUBS

Club 6

Cultural Club

Youth Club

Parents Club

MEMBERSHIP



100-65923

100-117761

100-83726

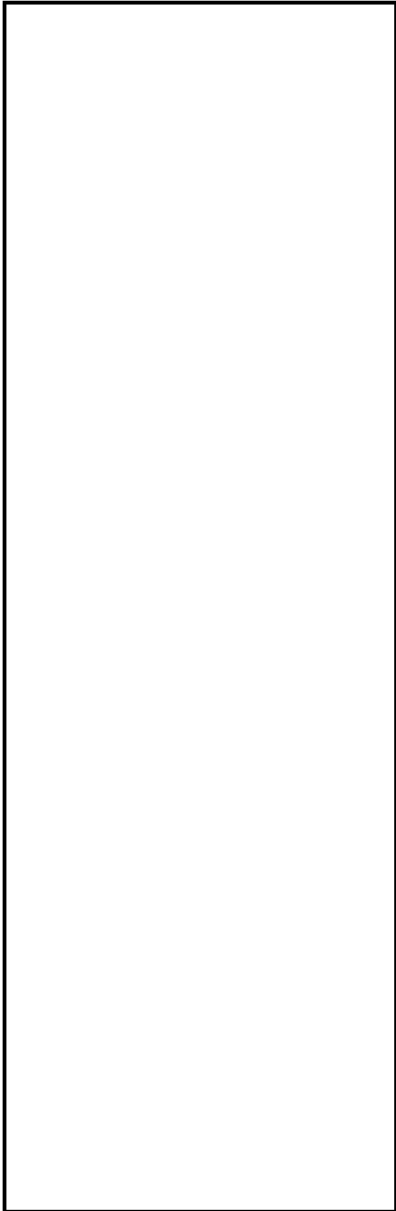
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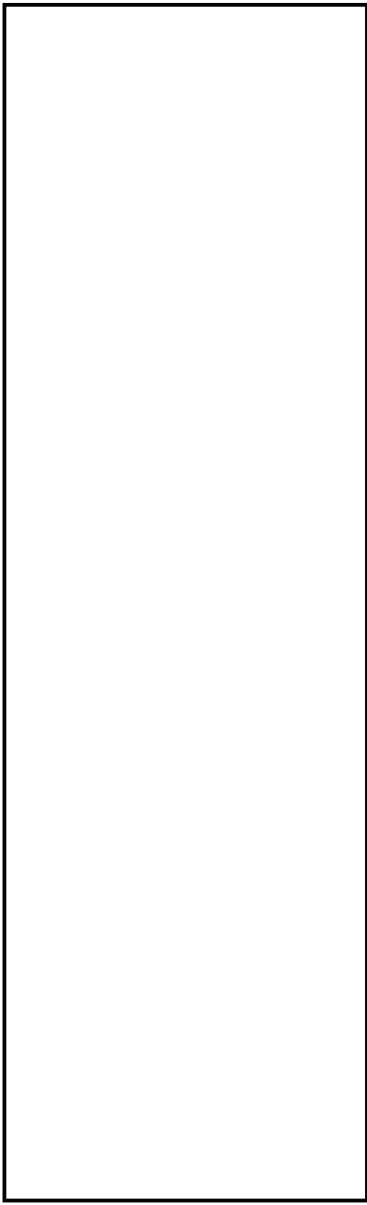
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- 100-82146
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- 100-130548
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- 100-76253
- 100-74453
- 100-96088
- 100-72597
- 100-106044
- 100-127386
- 100-101594
- 100-84756
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NY 100-80638



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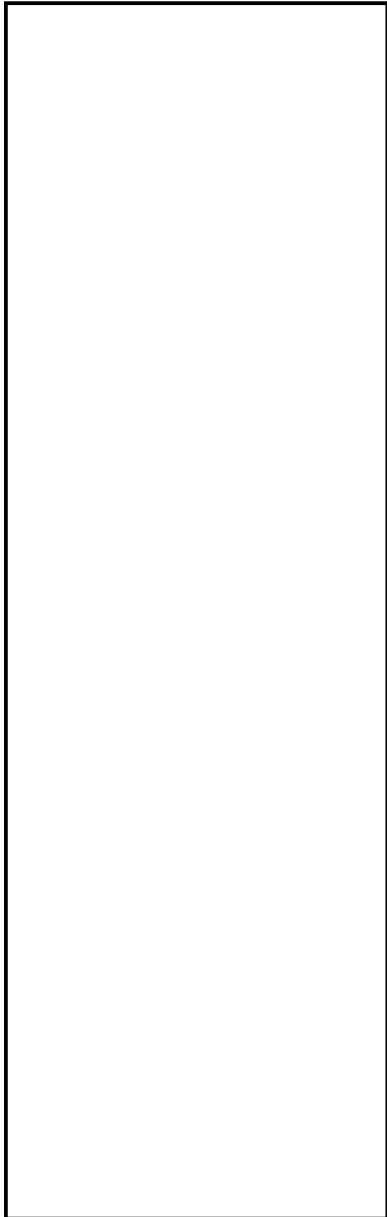
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- 100-107444
- 100-95293
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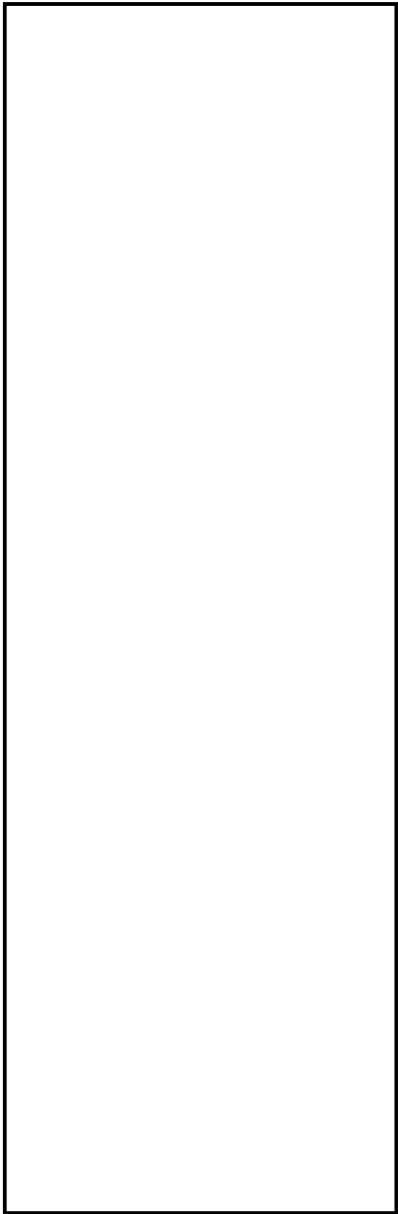
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NY 100-80638



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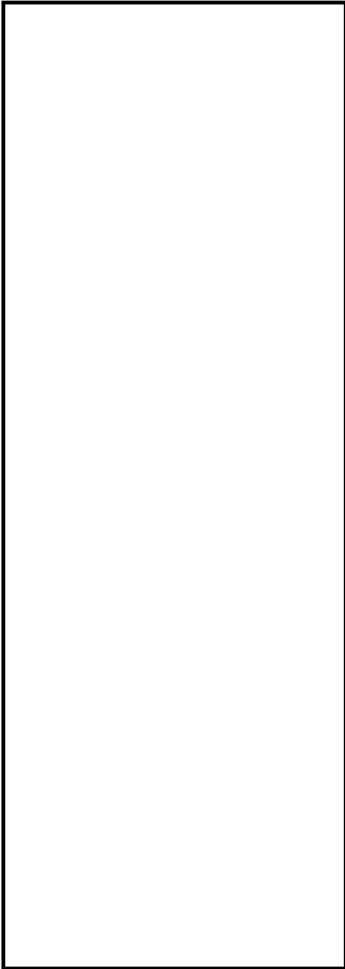
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100-13392
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100-124638

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PUERTO RICAN SECTION

LEADERSHIP



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NY 100-80638 (

MEMBERSHIP

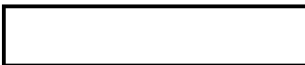


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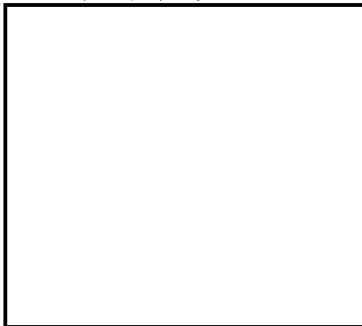
HUNGARIAN SECTION



((SECTION ORGANIZER)

100-103273

MEMBERSHIP



(T)

ove)

100-83470

100-102231

100-101163

100-102426

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SOUTHWEST SECTION

SECTION COMMITTEE



(above)

ve)

100-124147

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NY 100-80638

MEMBERSHIP



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ve)

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100-132104

100-117626

100-70395

100-102950

100-130199

100-84971

100-76909

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SECTION UNKNOWN

MEMBERSHIP



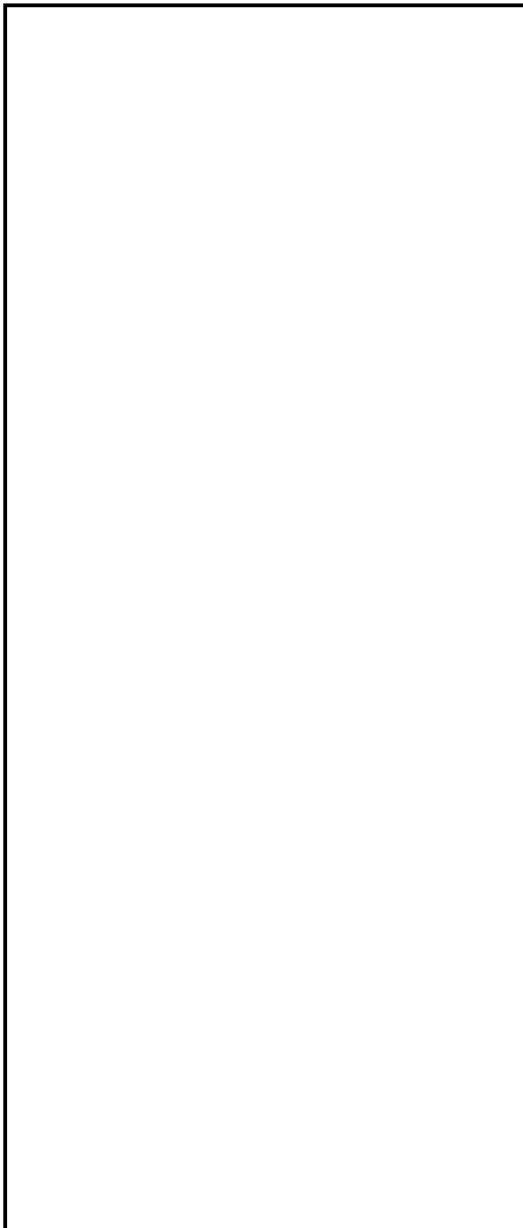
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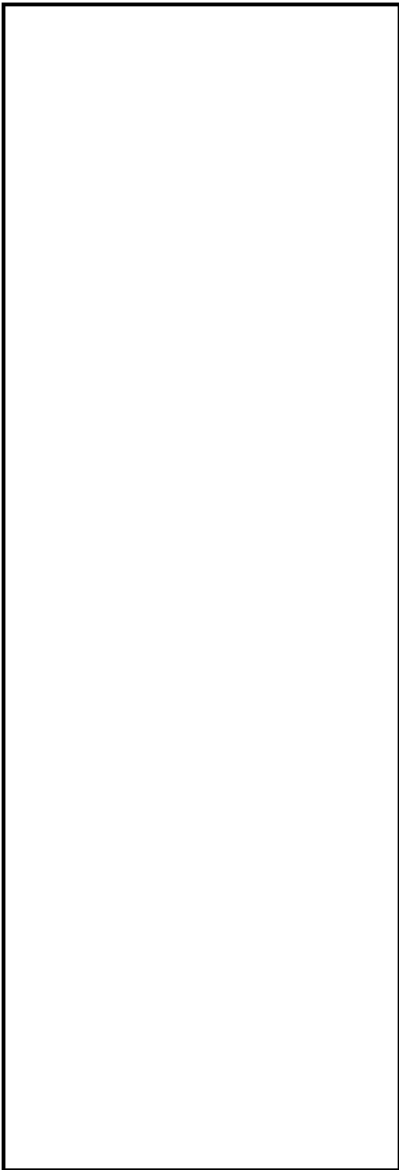
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NY 100-80638



(T)

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NY 100-80638

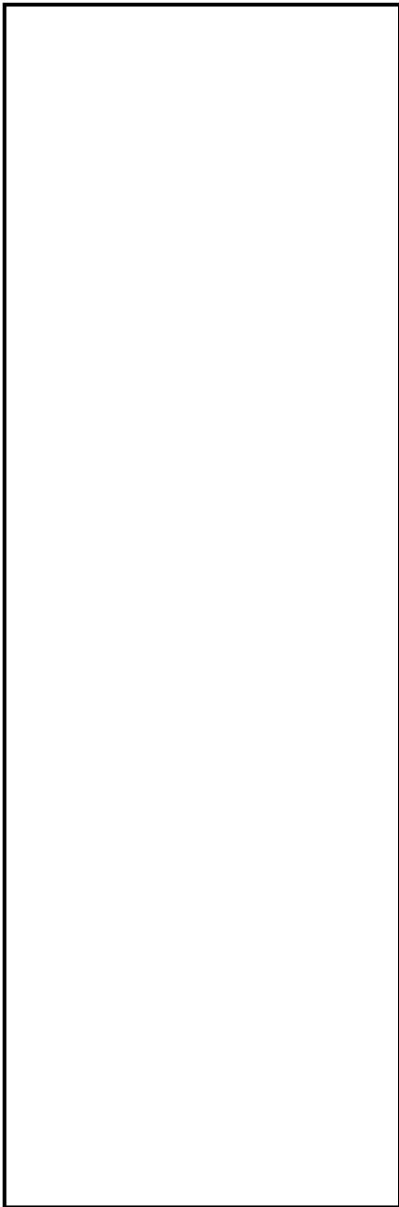


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b6
b7c

NY 100-80638



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100-47515
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100-131714

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- 23 -

NY 100-80638



WINSTON, HENRY (Imprisoned)



100-88642
100-81928
100-103520
100-60933
100-269
100-19679
100-114596
100-120925

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b7c

PROSPECT Section

JTO:gao
(1)

NY 100-80638

KINGS COUNTY COMMUNIST PARTY

Kings County Staff

[redacted]	Organizer	100-52959
[redacted]	Organizational Secretary	100-117158
[redacted]		100-66028
[redacted]		100-99369
[redacted]	Acting Registration Director	100-85936
[redacted]	Financial Secretary	100-67408
[redacted]	Literature Director	100-32433
[redacted]	Educational Director	100-95789
[redacted]		100-68554

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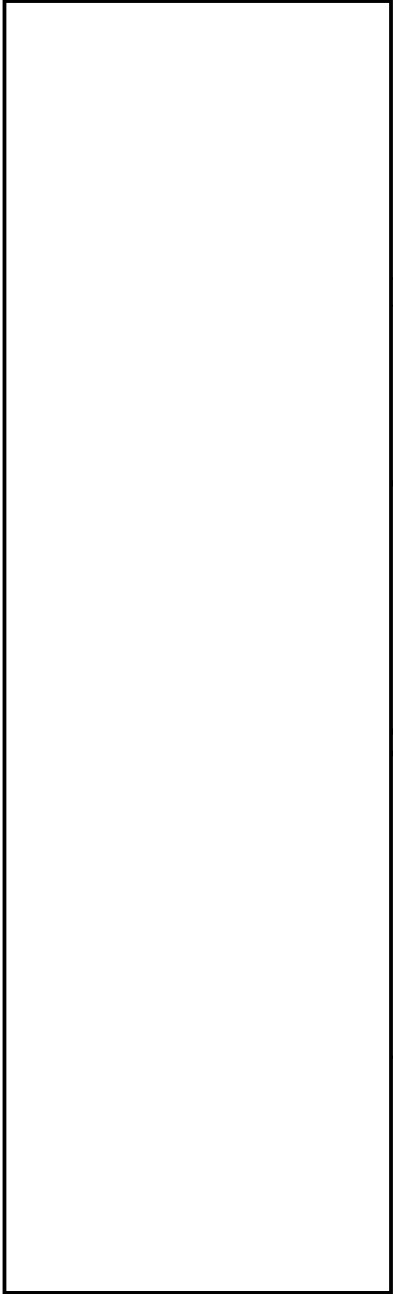
Kings County Committee

[redacted]	(above)	100-63240
[redacted]		100-12959
[redacted]		100-98451
COLON, JESUS		101-559
[redacted]	(above)	100-70482
[redacted]		100-67348
[redacted]		100-120546
[redacted]		100-114961

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JTO:gao
(2)

NY 100-80638



(above)

100-101941

100-13528

100-133359

100-89039

ve)

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100-66025

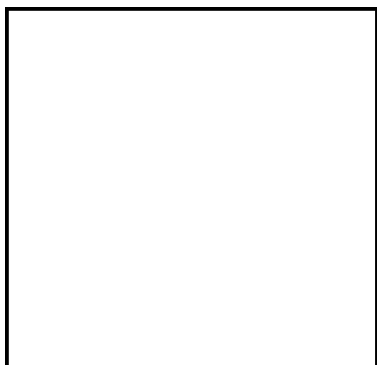
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NY 100-80638



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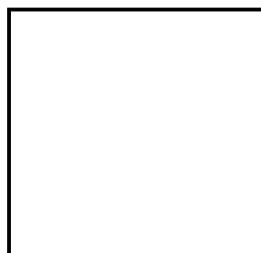
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100-133189

100-131135

Bedford-Stuyvesant Section (6th A.D.)



(above) Organizer

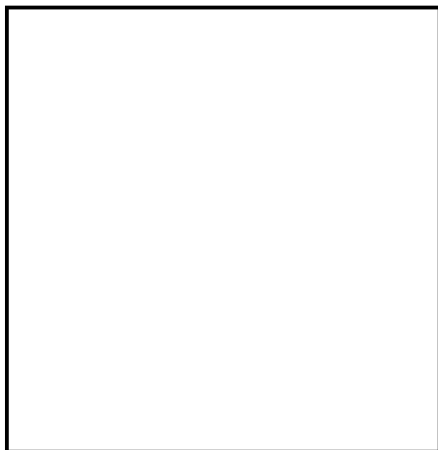
(T) Financial-membership
Secretary

100-110783

b6
b7C

(above) Educational
Director

Section Committee Members



100-68737

100-122763

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100-34275

100-102265

100-107856

JTO:gao
(4)

NY 100-80638

Greene Avenue Club

[redacted] Co-chairman 100-62848

[redacted] (above) Co-chairman

Industrial Club

[redacted] (above) Chairman

b6
b7C

NAACP Club

[redacted] Chairman 100-89002

Political League Club

[redacted] (above)

[redacted] (above)

Tenants Council Club

[redacted] ; (above) Chairman

[redacted] 100-126206

[redacted] 100-98244
[redacted] (above)

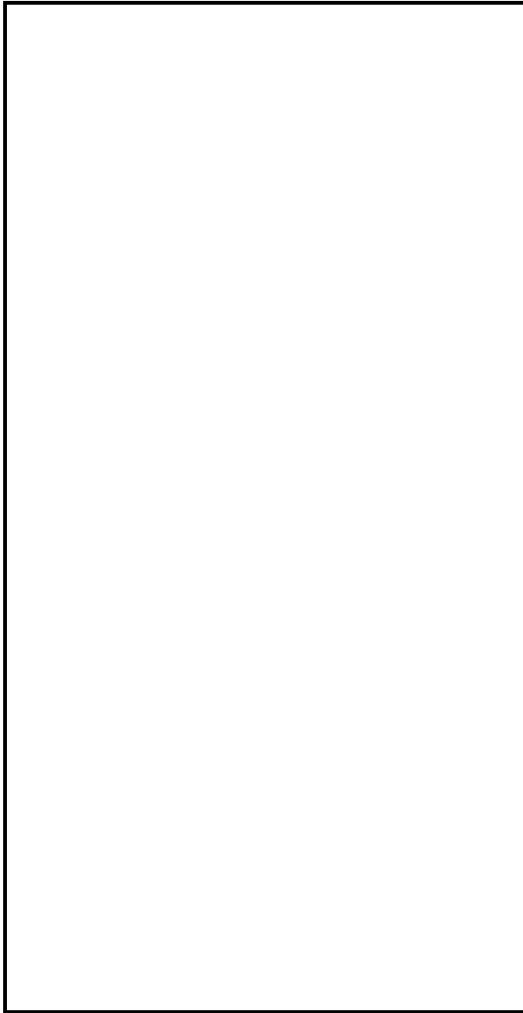
Young Adult Club

[redacted] 100-101676
[redacted] 100-95734
[redacted] 100-89213
[redacted] 100-97604
[redacted] 100-116025

b6
b7C

JTO:gao
(5)

NY 100-80638
Club Unknown



100-108768

100-126182

100-118082

100-122849

100-125832

100-81083

b6
b7C

100-18618

100-131208

100-11161

100-80703

100-106128

100-81794

100-123150

100-95641

100-126082

Bedford-Stuyvesant Section (17th A.D.)

; (above) Organizer

Club Unknown



100-64499

b6
b7C

100-109202

100-16241

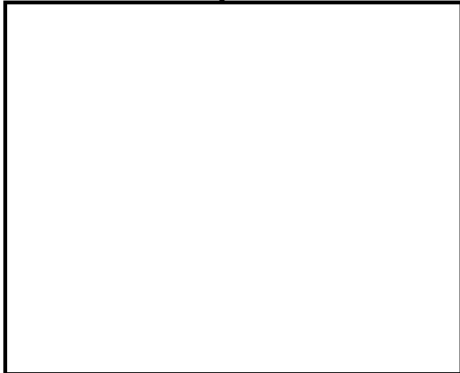
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100-111856

100-101856

JTO:gao
(6)

NY 100-80638

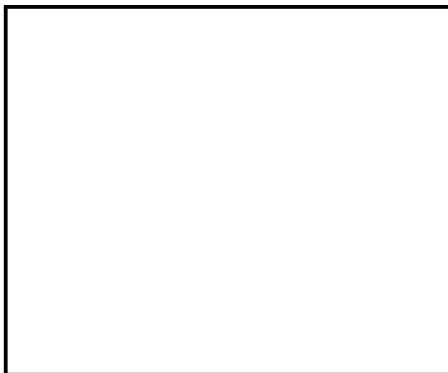


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100-130682
100-130254
100-72131

b6
b7C

Borough Hall-Waterfront Section

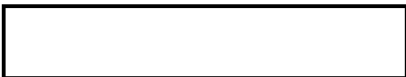
Club Unknown



100-131529
100-120644
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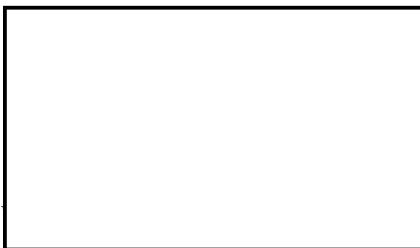
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Crown Heights Section



(above) Organizer

Club Unknown



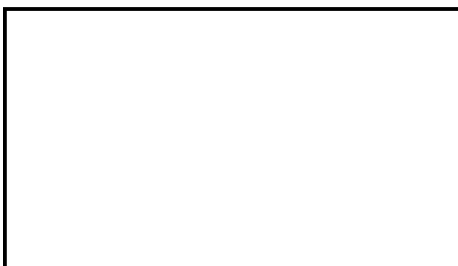
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100-105020

b6
b7C

Williamsburg Section

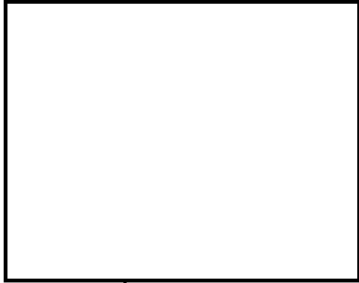
Club Unknown



100-85206
100-69514
100-128417
100-128276

JTO:gao
(7)

NY 100-80638



100-66701
100-92547
100-128504
100-89150
100-87334

b6
b7C

Professional Section

Club Unknown

COLON, FABIAN JESUS; (above)



100-51971

b6
b7C



(above)



(T)

100-117317

OBL:gao
(1)

NY 100-80638
Bath Beach Section

Organizer

[Redacted]

100-111162

Club Unknown

[Redacted]

100-64435

100-87182

100-132886

100-111733

100-119780

GERSON, SIMON WILLIAM

100-13473

100-108571

100-122342

100-130565

100-118575

100-131692

100-132887

100-67544

100-62620

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

Bensonhurst Section

Club Unknown

[Redacted]

100-129156

OBL:gao
(2)

NY 100-80638
Boro-Park Section

Club Unknown

[Redacted] (above)
[Redacted] (above)

[Redacted] (above)

100-114143

b6
b7C

Brighton Beach Section

Club Unknown

[Redacted]

100-11156

100-104554

Brownsville Section

Organizer

[Redacted]

100-131135

Club Unknown

[Redacted]

100-116813

100-63706

100-86226

100-111675

100-131531

100-61547

100-128858

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b6
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OBL:gao
(3)

NY 100-80638



100-118274

100-131462

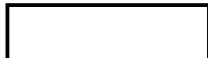
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100-131643

b6
b7C

Coney Island Section

Organizer



(above)

Fla tbush Section

Club Unknown



100-67976

East New York Section

Organizer



100-114961

b6
b7C

Club Unknown



100-131164

Kings Highway Section

Organizer



100-127862

Midwood Section

Organizer



100-82905

b6
b7C

OBL:gao
(4)

NY 100-80638

Club Unknown



100-131554

100-74266

100-62597

100-133551

100-79425

b6
b7C

Sheepshead Bay (Avenue U) Section

Organizer



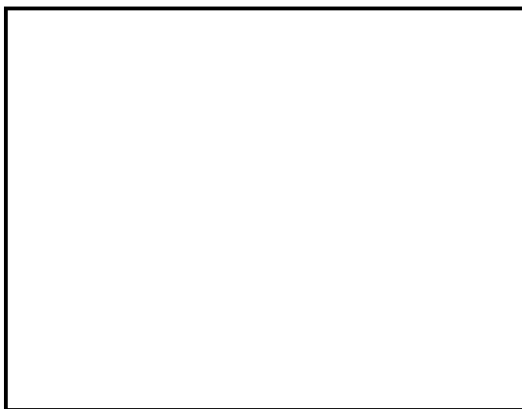
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NY 100-80638

-1-

Section and Club Unknown



100-105895

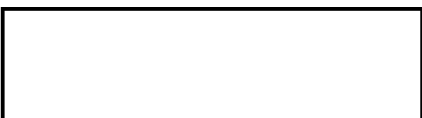
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100-129654

b6
b7C



100-111352

100-50898

APTHEKER, HERBERT EUGENE

100-80532

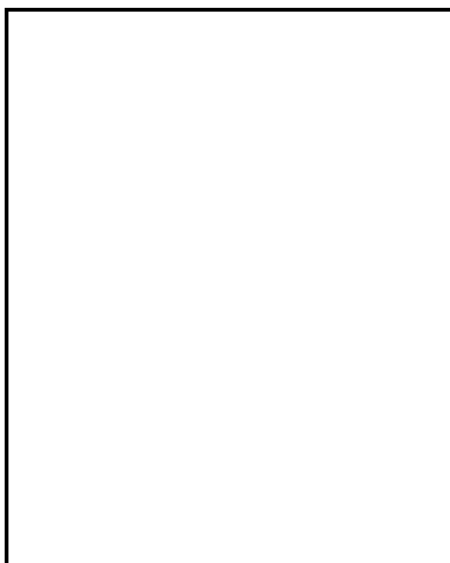


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100 118781

100-65846



100-56579

100-56684

b6
b7C

100-113684

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100-131547

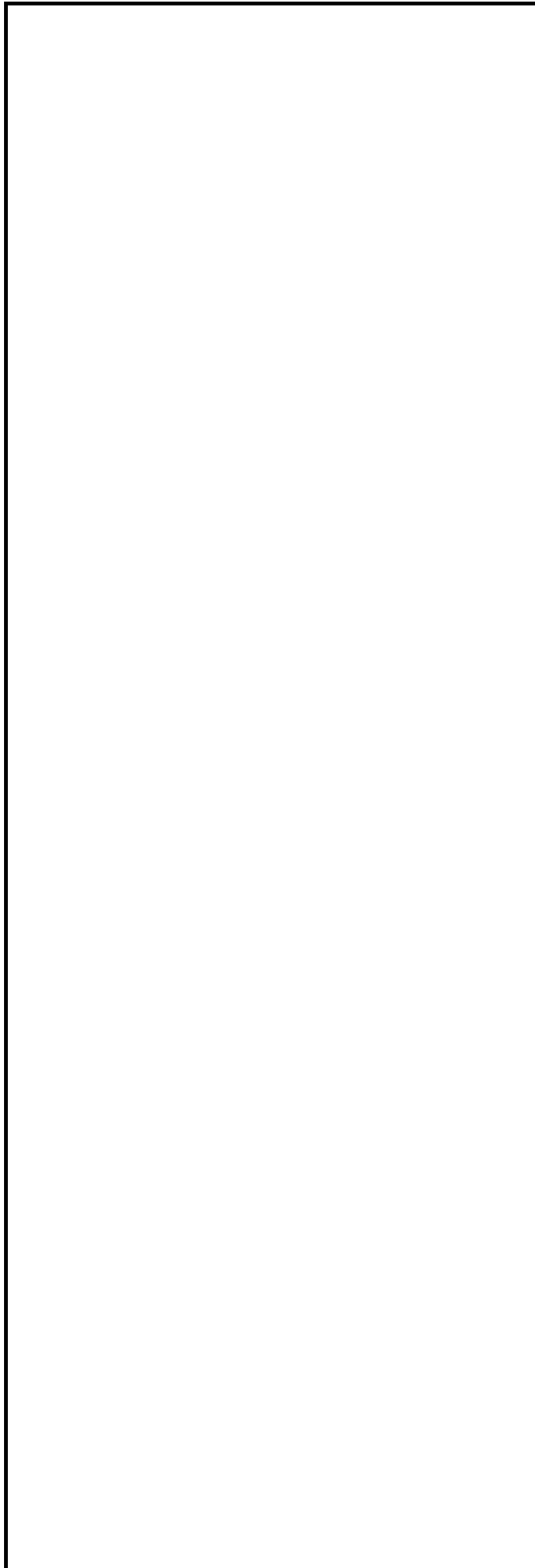
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100 47299

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-2-

NY 100-80638



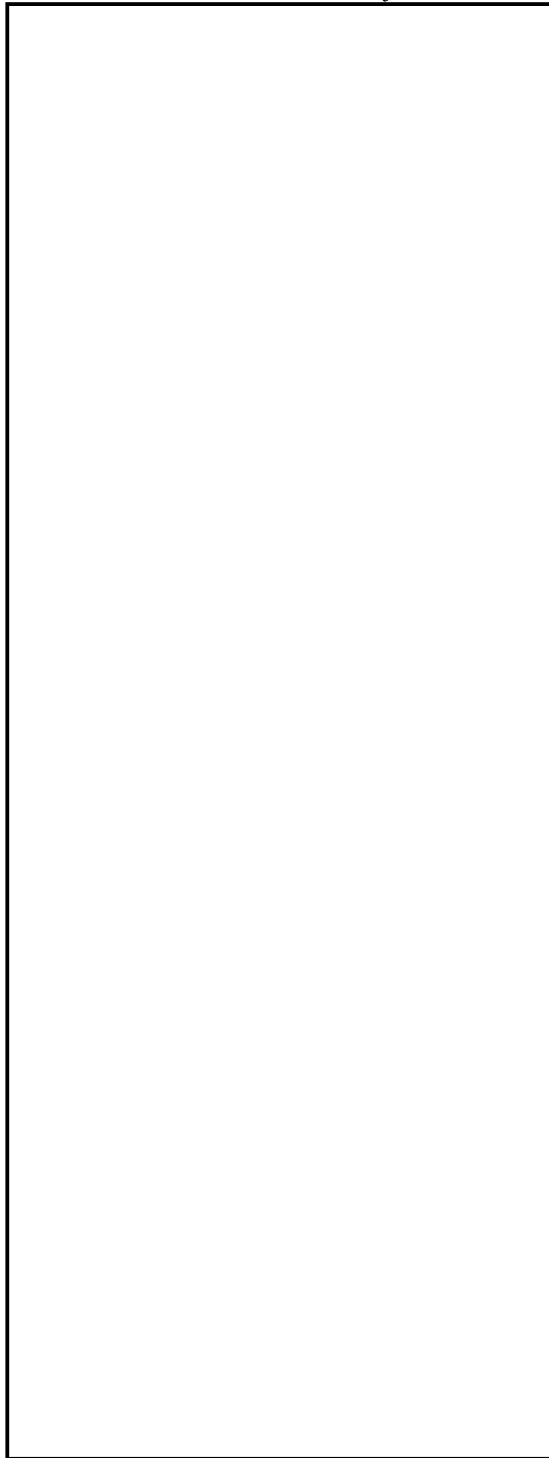
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100-63345
100-86288
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100-130791
100-107172
100-126364
100-128249
100-115344
100 133606
100-131550
100-128542
100-59327
100-34032
100-119435
100-94684
100-133037
100 66938
100-110803

b6
b7c

OBL; ecl

3-

NY 100-80638



100-110940

100-108503

100-117529

100-112800

100-125985

100-103668

100-130677

100-67519

100-96727

100-7996

100-68745

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100-113180

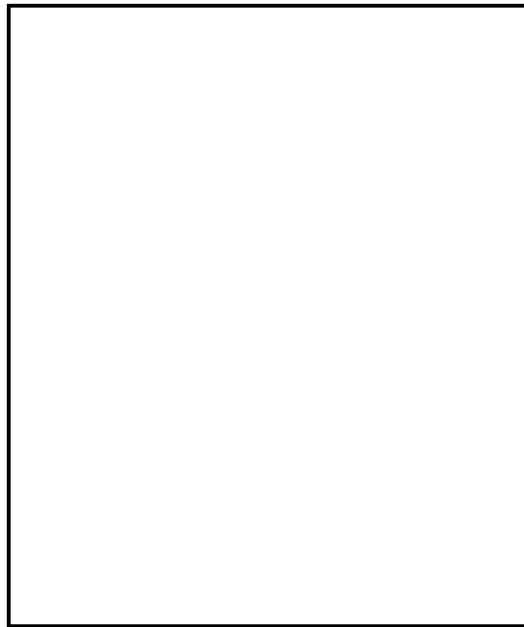
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b6
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OBL;ecl

-4-

NY 100-80638



v

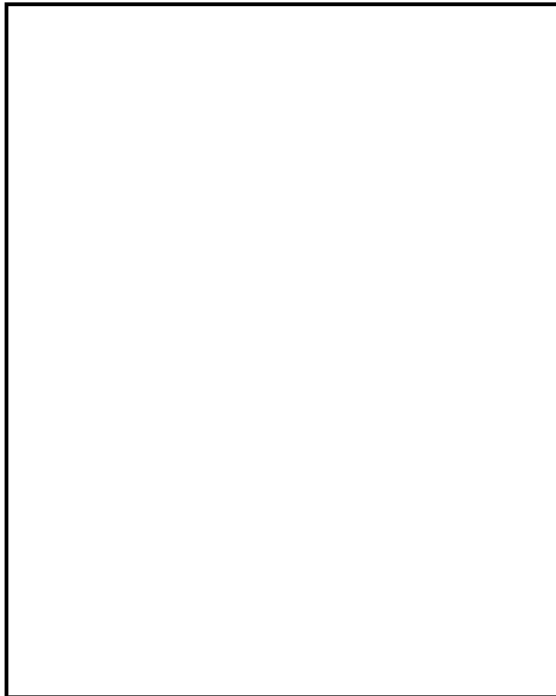
(T)

(T)

- 100-55664
- 100-65572
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- 100-119968
- 100-133161
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- 100-65361
- 100-128256
- 100-24448
- 100-51841
- 100-132613
- 100-130535
- 100-26554
- 100-119395
- 100-112154
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- 100-10304
- 100-106896

b6
b7C

GATES, LILLIAN

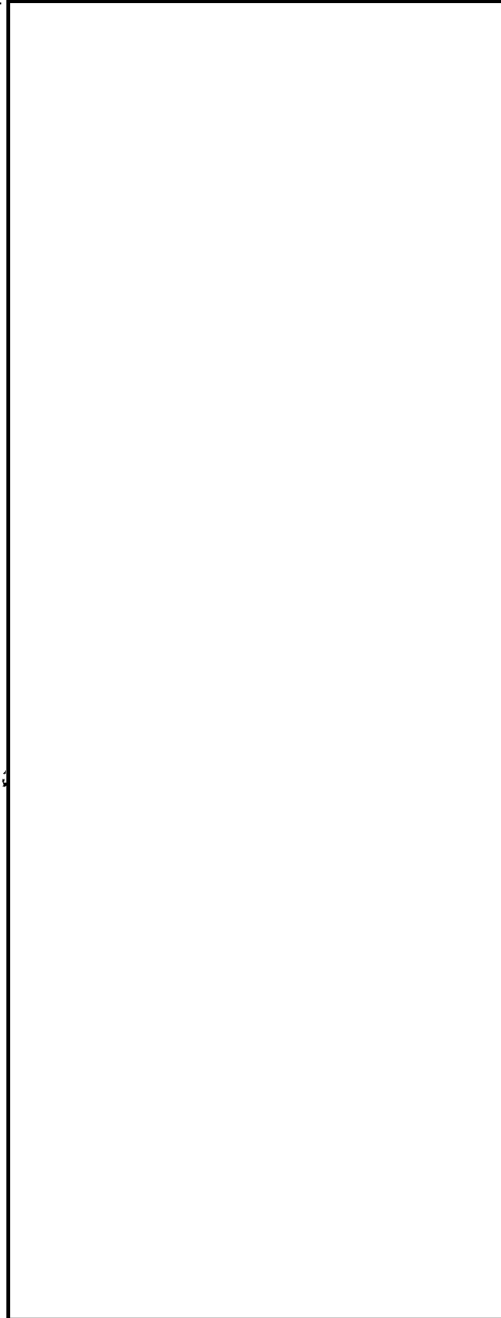


b6
b7C

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-5.

NY 100-80638



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100-63745

100-22725

100 8944

100-131995

100-13334

100-48746

100-101065

100-123187

100-85686

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100-82526

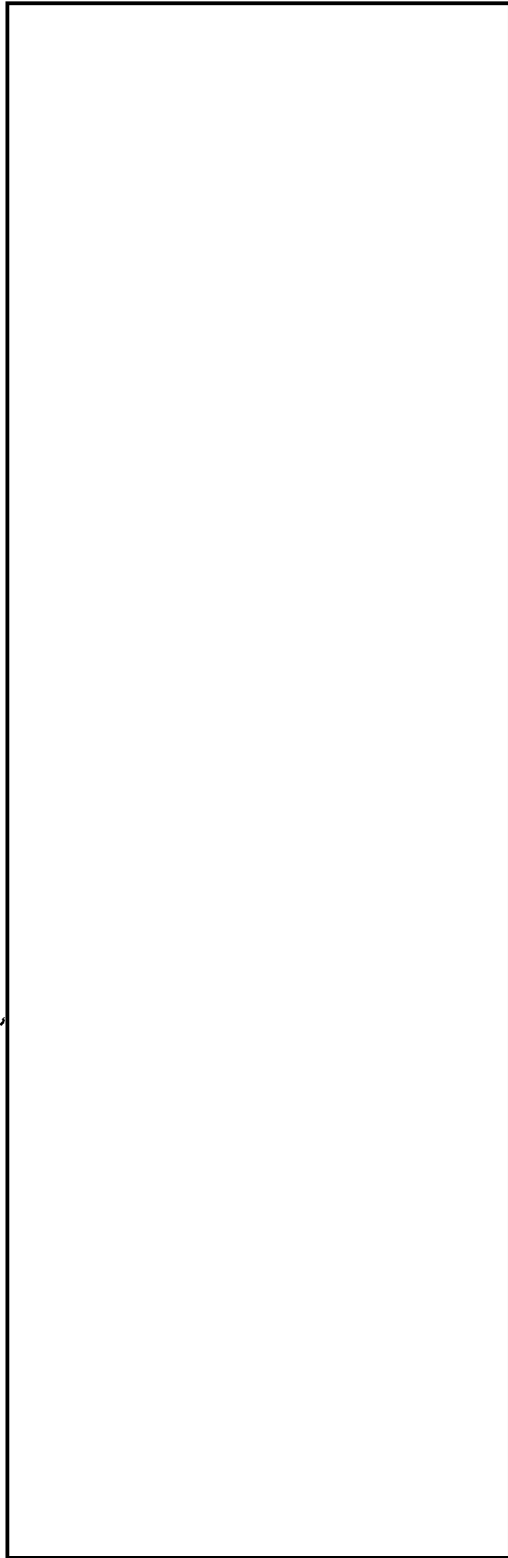
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b6
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-6-

NY 100-80638



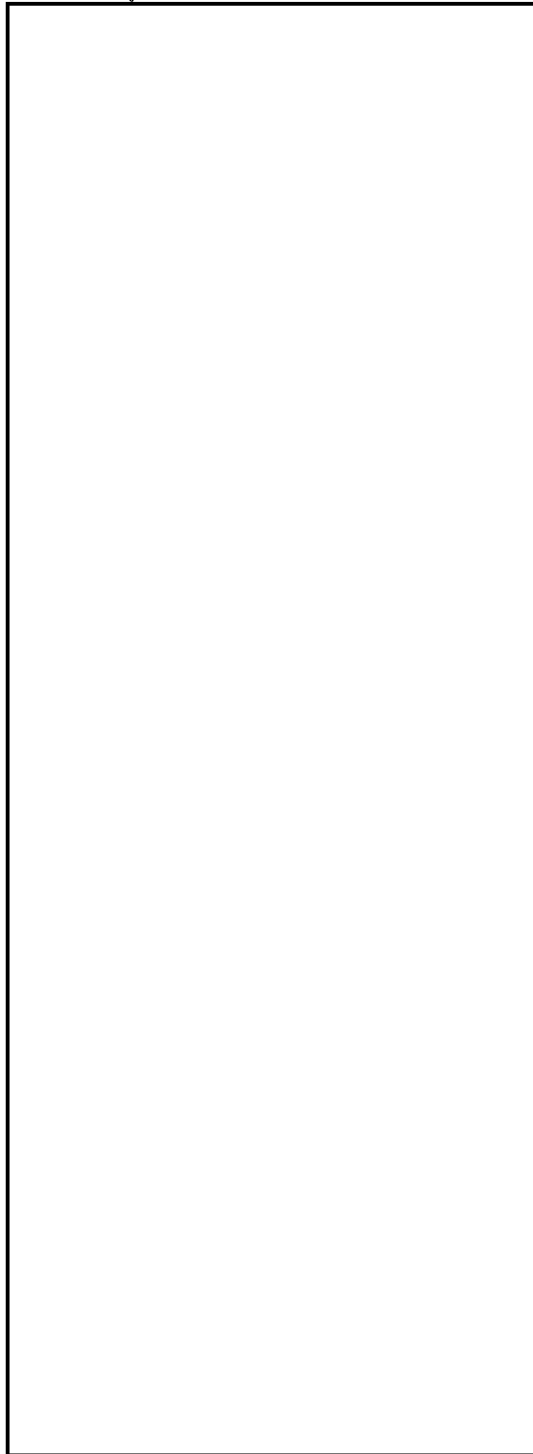
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b6
b7c

OBL:ec1

-7-

NY 100-80638



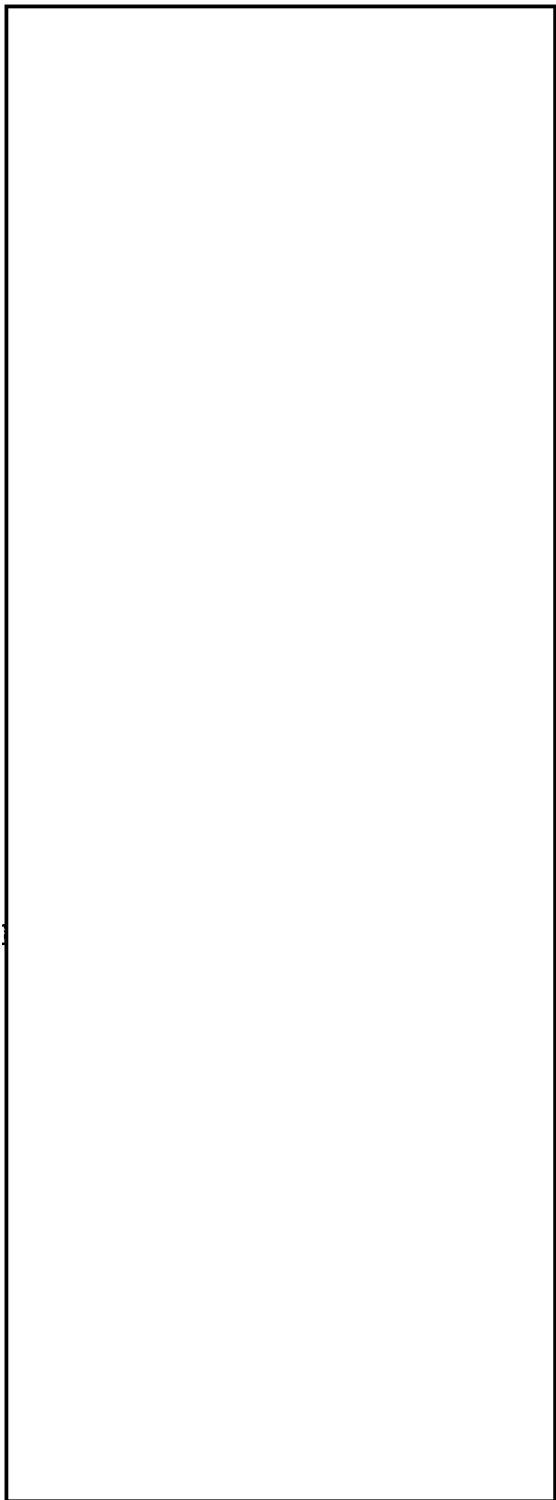
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100-125019
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100-115318
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100-92199

b6
b7c

OBL:ecl

-8-

NY 100-80638



100-86872

3

100-132856

100-68808

100-116521

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100-67215

100-74515

100-73142

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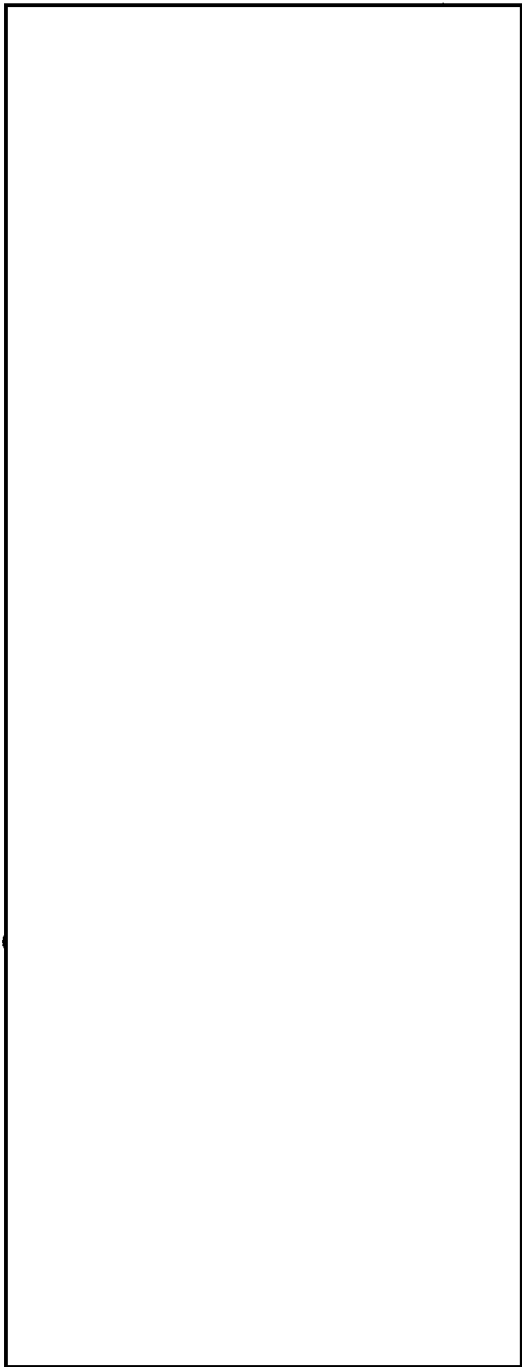
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-9-

NY 100-80638



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100-117724

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100-63755

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(T)

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100-25957

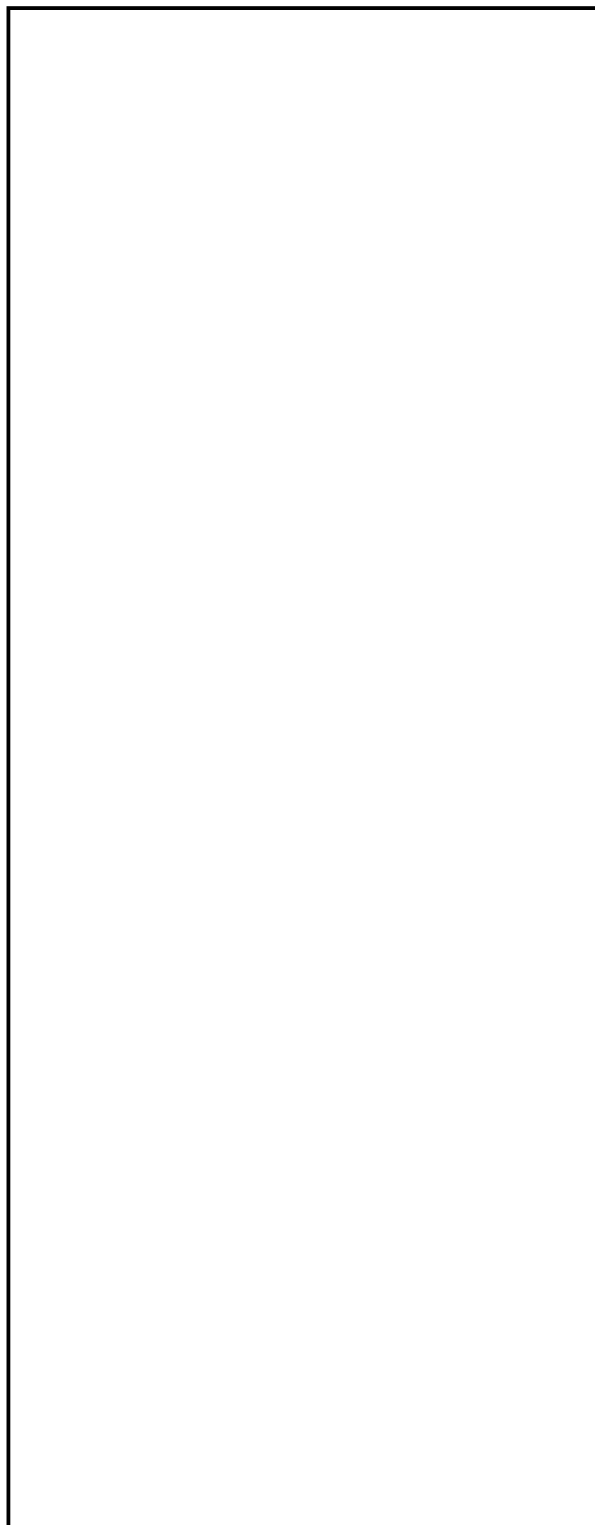
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b6
b7c

OBL:ecl

-10-

NY 100-80638



100-54746

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100-107732

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100-98003

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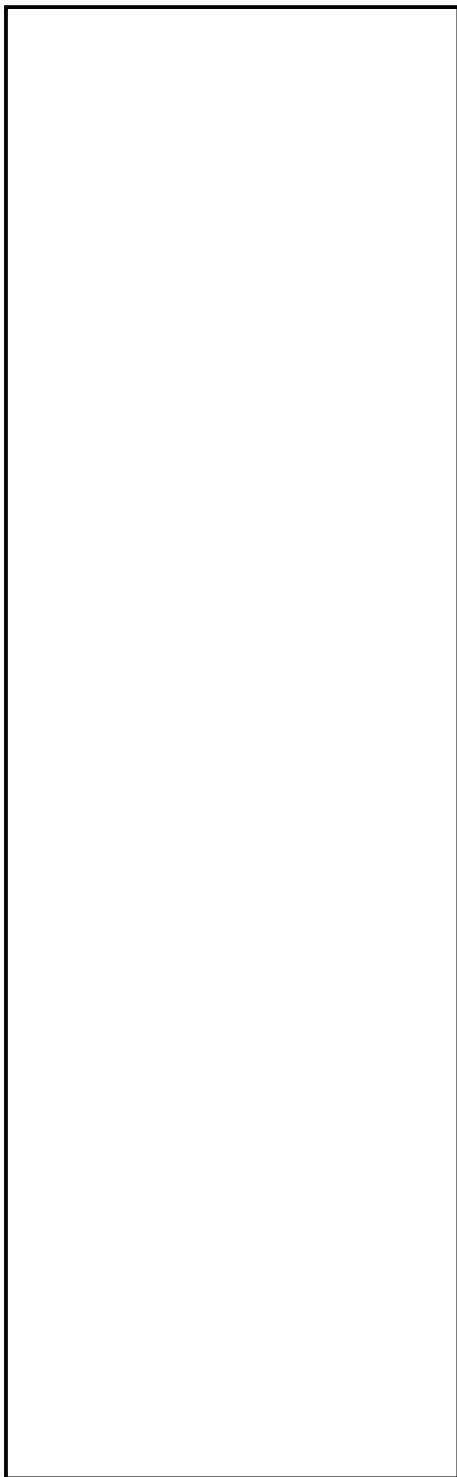
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b7c

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.-11-

NY 100-80638



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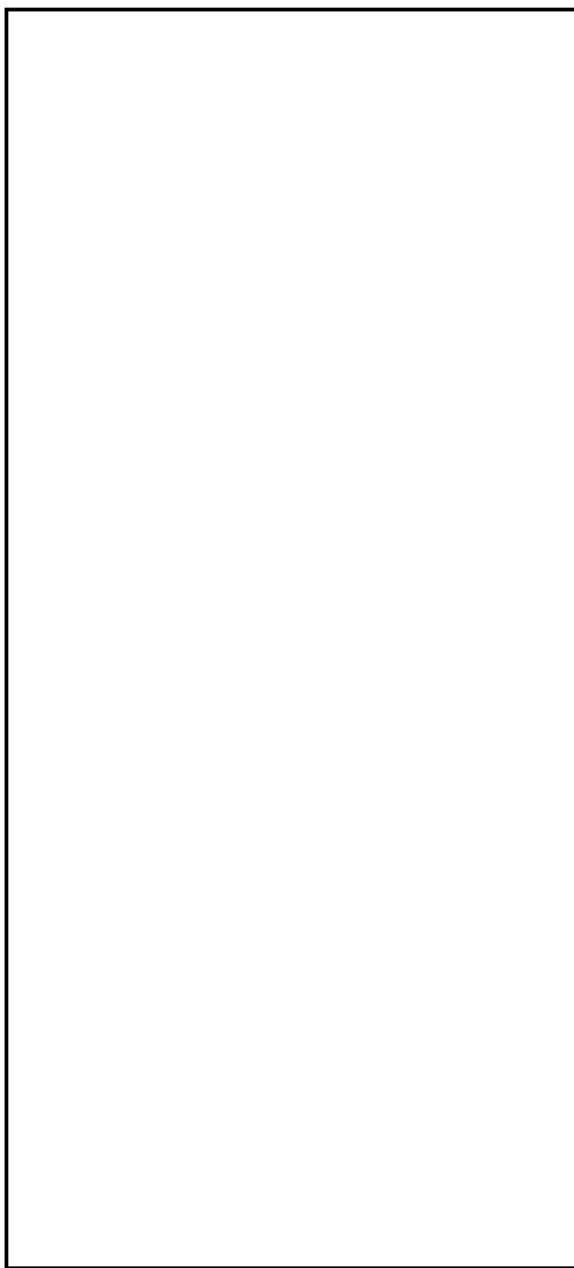
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b6
b7c

OBL:ecl

-12-

NY 100-80638



100-126545

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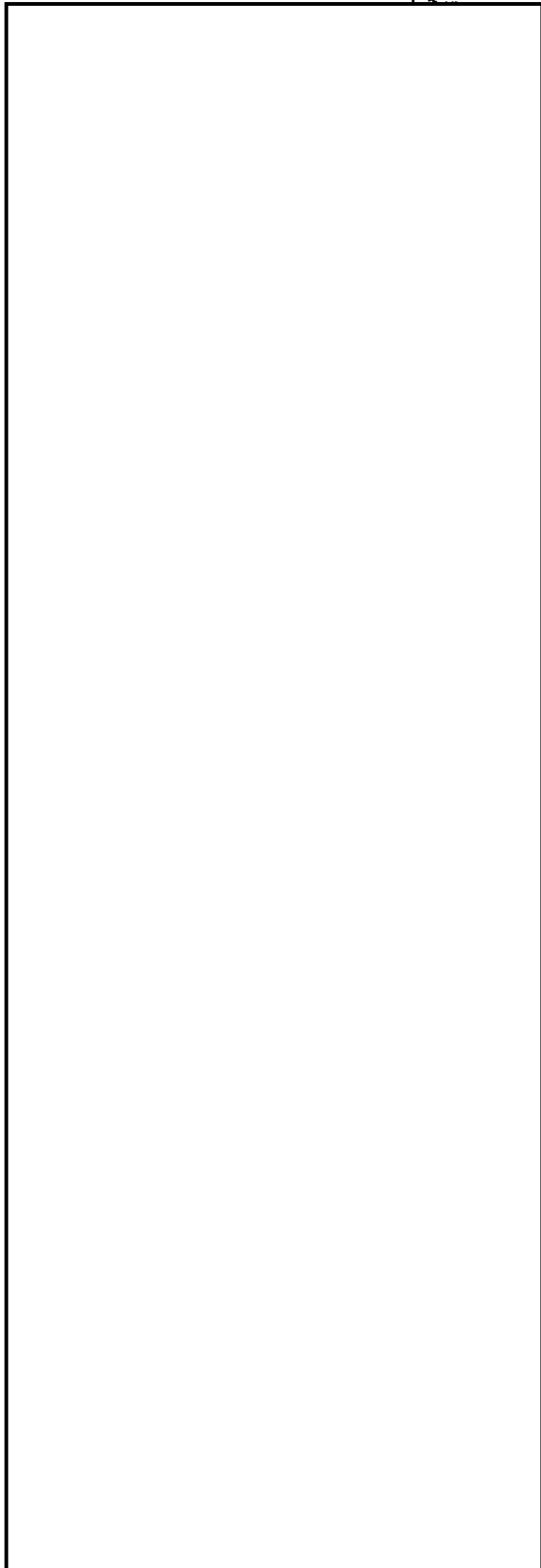
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b7c

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

OBL:ecl
12

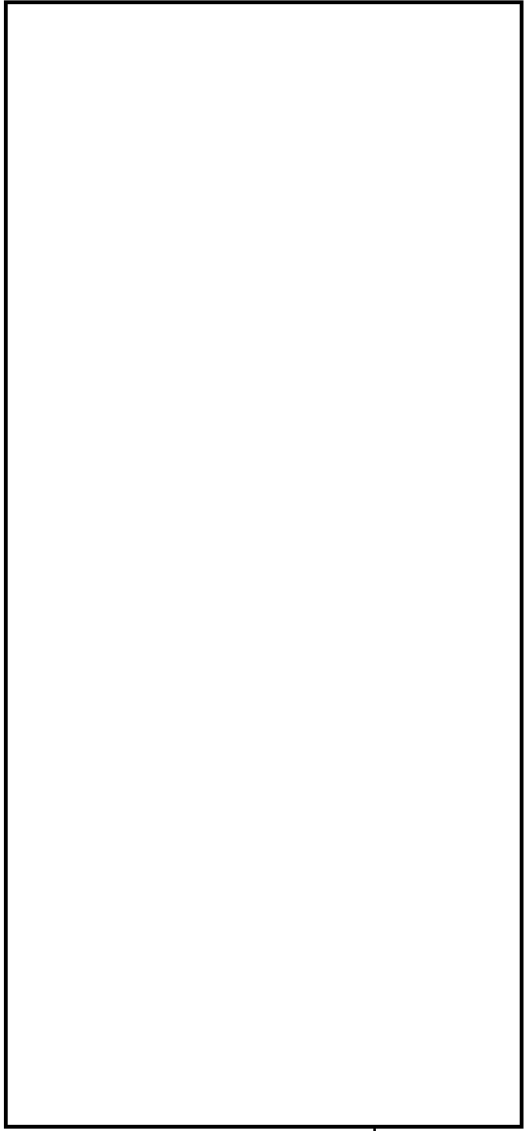


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b7c

OBL:ecl

-14-



- 100-8340
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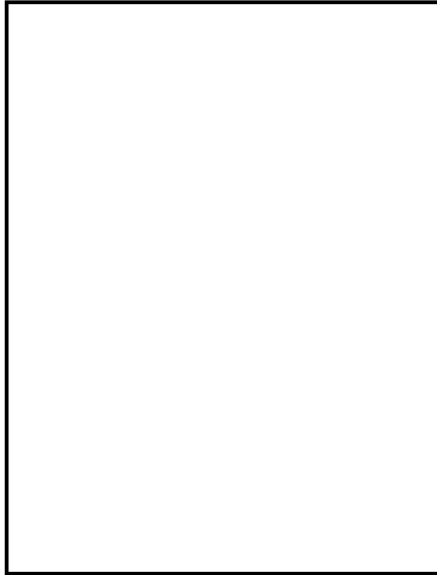
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b7c

b6
b7c

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NY 100-80638



100-132565

100-66590

100-131610

100-90168

100-72757

100-13203

100-83171

100-124639

100-1944

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

QUEENS COUNTY COMMUNIST PARTY

County Officers

[redacted]	Chairman	100-13527
[redacted]	Organizational Secretary	100-128481
[redacted]	Temporary Financial Director	100-82714
[redacted]	Membership Director	100-121261

b6
b7C

County Committee

[redacted]	100-80589
[redacted]	100-25864
[redacted]	100-65033
[redacted]	100-64505
[redacted]	100-323
[redacted]	100-121161
[redacted]	100-102967
[redacted]	100-110921
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[redacted]	100-57521
[redacted]	100-62774
[redacted]	100-129167
[redacted]	100-108771
[redacted]	100-95636

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638



(above)

100-101687

100-96199

(above)

100-119285

b6
b7C

Area I



Membership and
Financial Director

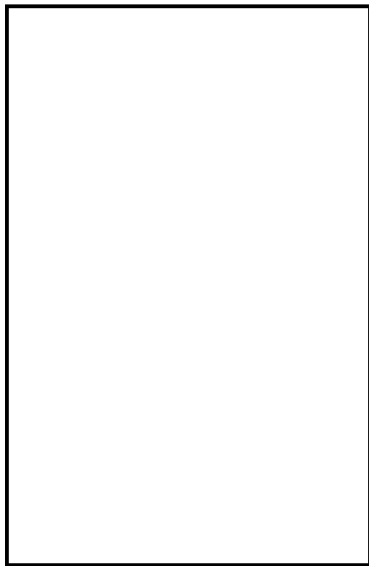
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Ravenswood Section



(above), Membership and
Financial Director

Club Unknown



100-100065

100-66465

100-102402

100-127208

100-127350

100-124498

100-110844

100-113522

100-64742

b6
b7C

Sunnyside Section



Joint Organizer

100-57460



(above), Joint
Organizer



(above), Joint Organizational
Secretary

NY 100-80638

[redacted] Joint Organizational Secretary 100-76134

b6
b7C

[redacted] Joint Educational Director 100-62577

[redacted] Joint Educational Director 100-69730

PTA Club

Members unknown.

Tenants Club

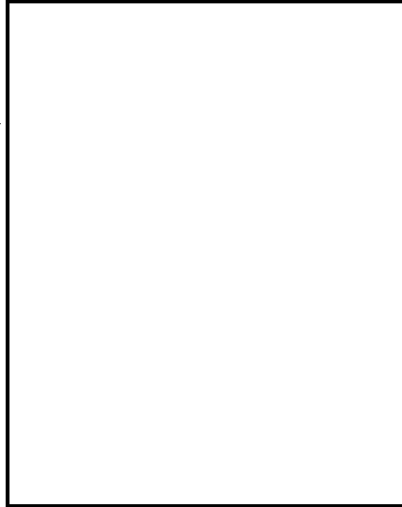
Members unknown.

Club Unknown :

[redacted] 100-124817
[redacted] 100-106504
[redacted] 100-95529
[redacted] 100-65034
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[redacted] 100-100248
[redacted] 100-97548
[redacted] 100-98967
[redacted] 100-131114
[redacted] 100-83140
[redacted] 100-100343
[redacted] above)
[redacted] 100-77297
[redacted] 100-54591
[redacted] 100-85545

b6
b7C

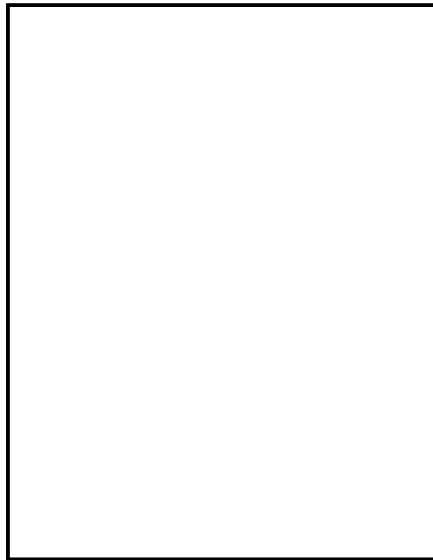
NY 100-80638



100-55806
100-52334
100-7523
100-44520
100-56268
100-56269
100-75875
100-58259

b6
b7c

Section and Club Unknown



100-120607
100-69394
100-62574
100-121075
100-118200
100-68478
100-64386
100-111863
100-111921

b6
b7c

WEINSTONE, WILLIAM (above)

Area II



Membership and
Financial Director

100-58578

b6
b7c

Corona Section



(above),
Organizer

NY 100-80638

Corona Heights Club

[Redacted]

(above),
Organizer

[Redacted]

100-127215

100-101473

b6
b7C

Dorie Miller Club

[Redacted]

Organizer

100-109166

100-109949

[Redacted]

100-130935

100-130888

100-89713

100-73980

100-55161

100-62700

b6
b7C

East Elmhurst Club

[Redacted]

Organizer

100-90523

Club Unknown

[Redacted]

(T)

100-105852

100-108640

100-73100

100-106854

100-109683

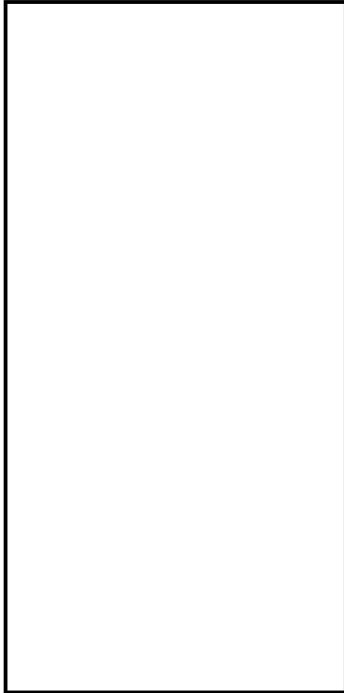
100-72688

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

Clearview Section

Club Unknown



100-133912
100-67405
100-34690
100-126185
100-126184
100-130624
100-104074
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100-108922
101-53
100-125745

b6
b7C

Flushing-Bayside Section



(above), Organizer

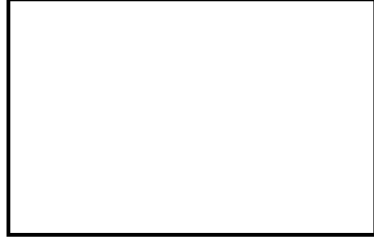
Club Unknown



100-77003
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100-24043
100-63945
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100-13555
100-125862

b6
b7C


NY 100-80638



100-121735
100-66531
100-9027
100-126147

b6
b7C

Jackson Heights Section

 (above), Organizer

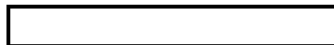
Club Unknown



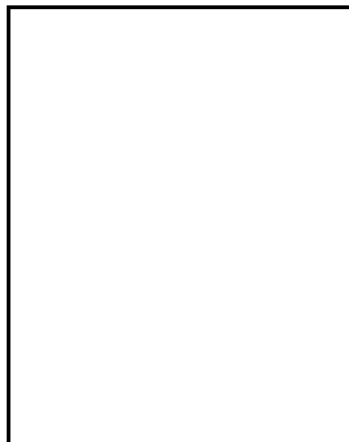
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100-65582
100-102331
100-64073
100-99180

b6
b7C

Kew Pomonok Section

 (above), Organizer

Club Unknown



ve)
e)

100-105416
100-103461
100-67696
100-93645
100-82571

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638



100-50938

100-97018

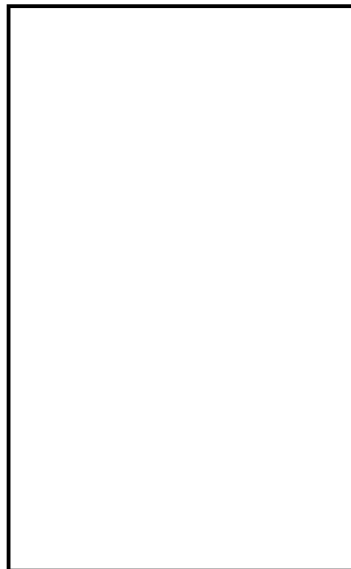
b6
b7C

100-55616

100-96154

Rego-Forest Hills Section

Club Unknown



100-89903

100-11163

100-67197

100-75386

b6
b7C

100-64756

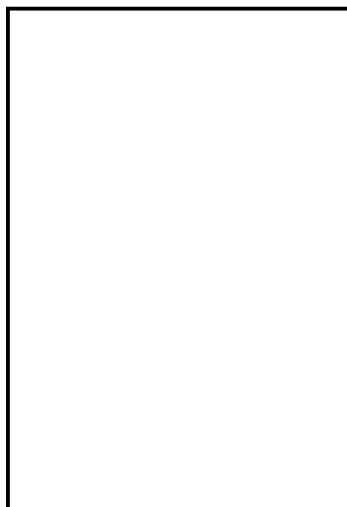
100-114746

100-76019

100-63199

100-131445

Section and Club Unknown



(T)

(T)

(T)

100-133914

100-133913

b6
b7C

100-104001

100-57221

100-80630

100-16444

100-108409

100-80602

NY 100-80638

Area III

Bell Section

[Redacted]

(above), Organizer;
Membership and Financial
Director

b6
b7C

Club Unknown

[Redacted]

(T)

- 100-130203
- 100-130204
- 100-129465
- 100-43442
- 100-65073
- 100-64036
- 100-128083
- 100-93861
- 100-82881
- 100-130524
- 100-129652
- 100-131405
- 100-127560
- 100-130375
- 100-66640
- 100-65972
- 100-67525
- 100-126304

b6
b7C

East Queens Section

[Redacted]

(above), Organizer

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

[redacted] (above), Membership
and Financial Director

Club Unknown

[redacted]

100-120613

100-116607

100-95556

100-14352

100-132263

100-36177

100-126150

100-126149

100-118799

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100-127569

100-68314

100-132978

100-101642

100-101183

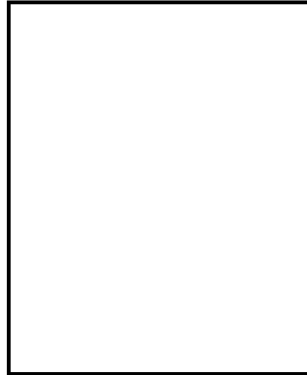
100-99062

100-53311

100-129225

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638



(above)

100-120709

(above)

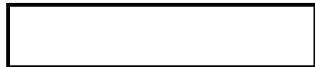
100-66678

100-63476

100-131283

b6
b7C

Jamaica Section



(above), Organizer



Membership and Financial
Director

100-71535

Industrial Club

Members unknown. ✓

NAACP Club

Members unknown. ✓

Ozone Park Club

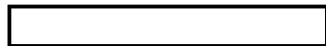


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PTA Club

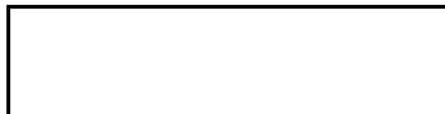
Members unknown. ✓

Richmond Hill Club



Organizer

100-63167



100-87136

100-77030

b6
b7C

Tenants Club

Members unknown. ✓

NY 100-80638

United Nations Club

[Redacted]

100-66429

Club Unknown

[Redacted]

100-103872

100-118811

100-118810

100-127585

100-88868

(above)

(above)

100-112044

100-110921

b6
b7C

bove)

100-113783

100-76754

100-98335

100-88566

100-68107

100-81503

100-66342

100-69261

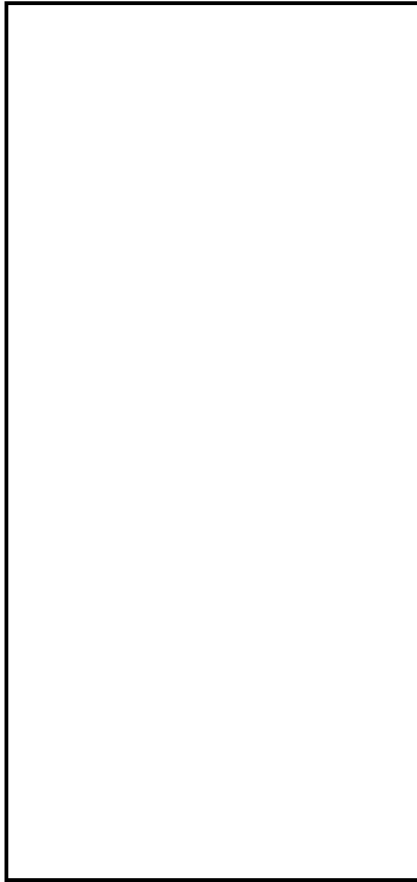
100-52411

100-84865

100-82699

100-113742

NY 100-80638



100-92208
100-95064
100-103418
100-127597
100-73592
100-78772
100-81771
100-89625
100-101589
100-68746
100-83771
100-82941
100-115063
100-71533

b6
b7C

Maspeth Section



(above), Organizer

German-American Club

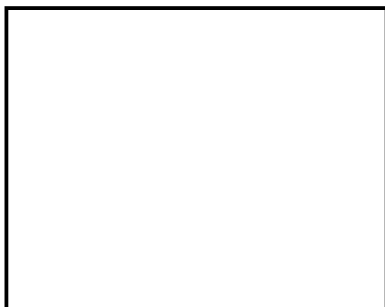


Organizer

100-99799
100-98940

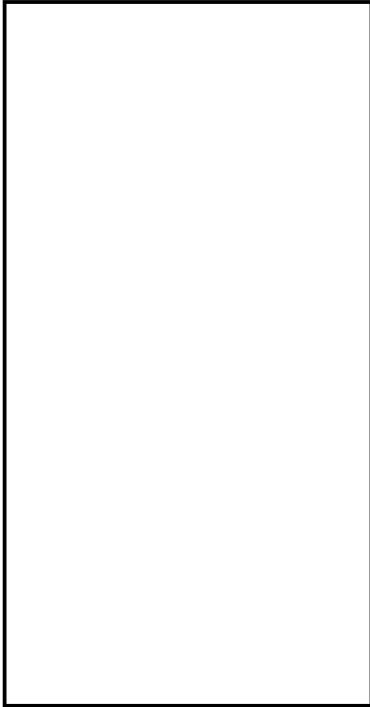
b6
b7C

Club Unknown



100-90653
100-117493
100-76445
100-128497
100-94268

NY 100-80638



100-92692
100-114755
100-127488
100-100921
100-96923
100-77986
100-65522
100-66972
100-90731
100-130374
100-115284

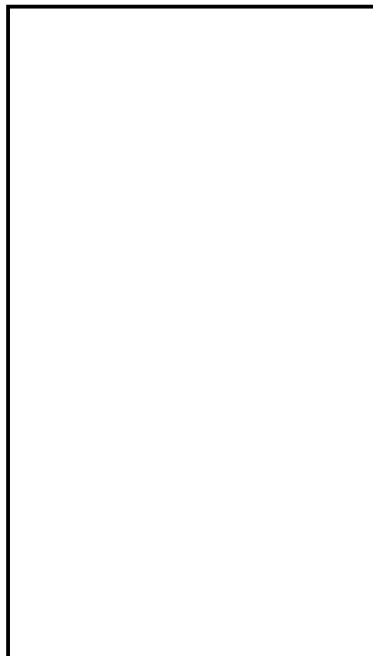
b6
b7C

Rockaway Section



(above), Organizer;
Membership and Financial
Director

Club Unknown



100-91319
100-129968
100-127681
100-118093
100-94714
100-125821
100-113551
100-126148
100-121692
100-130573

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638



100-94067
100-82837
100-92973
100-124641
100-77507
100-47198
100-127603
100-114546
100-122586
100-126732
100-126733
100-118972

b6
b7C

Professional Section



(above), Organizer

Club Unknown



100-95609
100-125863

Section and Club Unknown



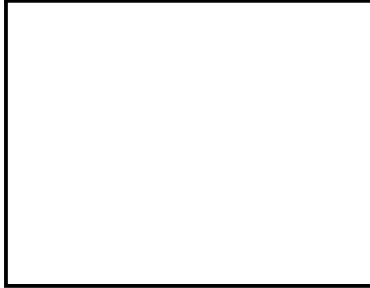
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100-72964
100-37342
100-46469

b6
b7C

JHC:jlh
- 16 -

NY 100-80638



100-52572

100-89977

100-120129

100-14176

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

NEW YORK COUNTY COMMUNIST PARTY

NEW YORK COUNTY CP BOARD:



Chairman 100-54555

Organizational Secretary 100-67234

100-116385

100-127918

b6
b7C



100-94544

100-228

100-88013

100-13336

NEW YORK COUNTY CP COMMITTEE



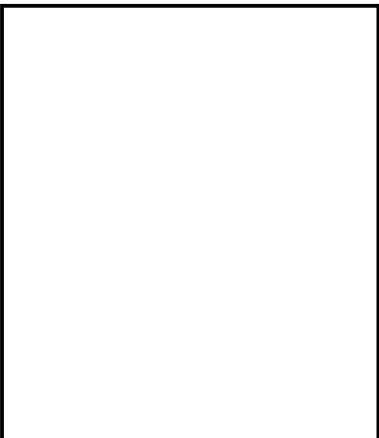
100-20725

100-9369

100-81767

BLUMBERG, ALBERT

100-9984



100-68063

100-93651

100-60640

100-91454

100-84993

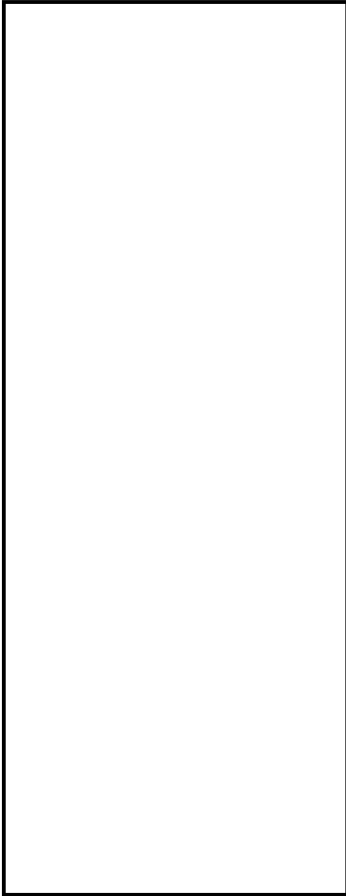
100-56835

100-55621

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

NEW YORK COUNTY CP COMMITTEE CONT'D:



- 100-91911
- 100-57510
- 100-120215
- 100-57965
- 100-132332
- 100-94941
- 100-7772
- 100-95550
- 100-111666
- 100-84257
- 100-82206
- 100-66715
- 100-132282

b6
b7C

RUSSIAN SECTION



(above)

DWW:ajk
- 1 -

NY 100-80638

Youth Section (Formulating)



100-133660

100-102944

100-114066

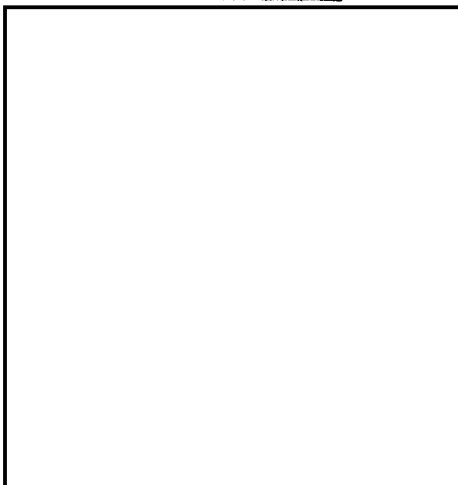
100-125874

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

Professional Section

Section Organizer



100-54135

100-82239

100-106488

100-80893

100-54132

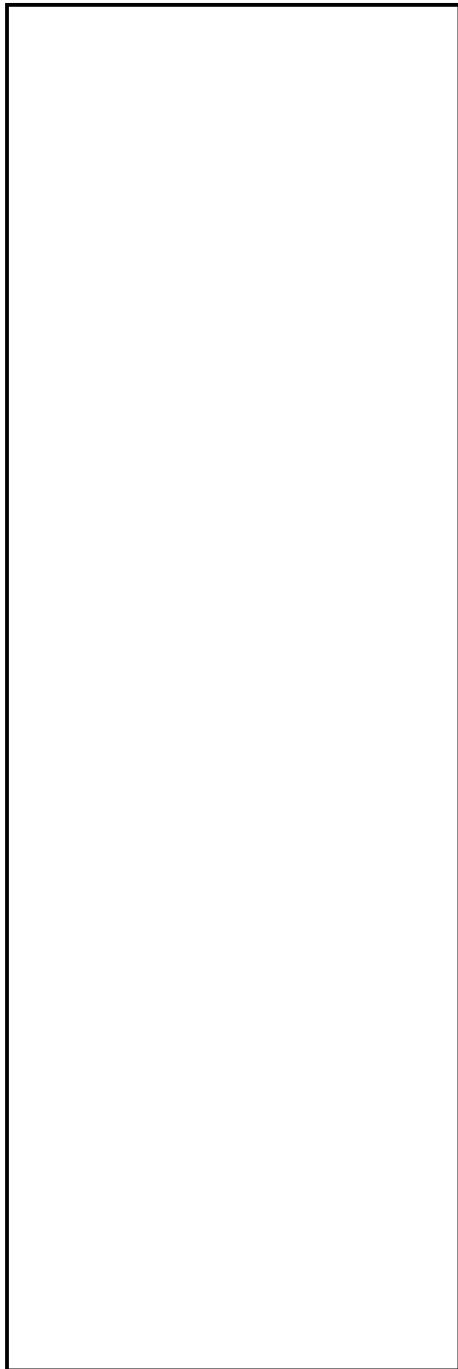
100-100642

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

Lower East Side - Forbes Section

Club(s) Unknown



- 100-9756
- 100-94374
- 100-67995
- 100-133967
- 100-90362
- 100-80646
- 100-121264
- 100-59634
- 100-51955
- 100-86223
- 100-63859
- 100-75223
- 100-107624
- 100-125344
- 100-124695
- 100-81394
- 100-14692

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638



100-132984

100-90354

100-65111

100-102402

100-69219

100-49245

100-124880

100-118360

100-82431

100-66244

100-133415

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100-67748

100-93824

100-100141

100-97346

100-108183

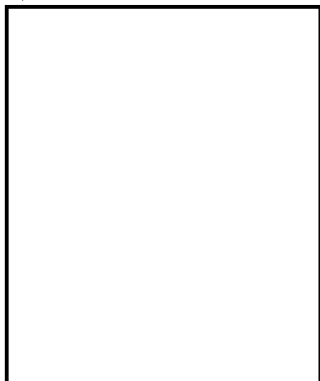
100-69489

b6
b7c

CJG:ajk
- 3 -

NY 100-80638

100-80638



(above)

100-98338

100-273

100-36479

100-124142

100-68025

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

CJG:ecl
-1-

Greenwich Village Section

Co-Membership-Finance Directors

[Redacted]

100-89955

100-65536

Educational Director

[Redacted]

100-81438

Literature Director

[Redacted]

100-39057

Club #1

[Redacted]

(above)

100-99624

100-128243

100-113995

100-74331

100-45089

100-70089

Club#2

Membership-Finance Director

[Redacted]

100-108135

Educational Director

[Redacted]

100-79596

100-63197

100-76584

b6
b7c

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

CJG:ecl
-2-

[redacted] (above)

Club #3

Organizer

[redacted]

100-13019

b6
b7c

Alternate Membership Director

[redacted]

100-124793

Educational Director

[redacted]

100-94207

Greek Section of the Greenwich Village Section

[redacted]

100-97620

100-16499

100-104020

100-55623

100-123665

105-16605

105-19749

100-105346

b6
b7c

Club (S) Unknown

[redacted]

100-109530

100-65197

100-73828

100-72646

100-91605

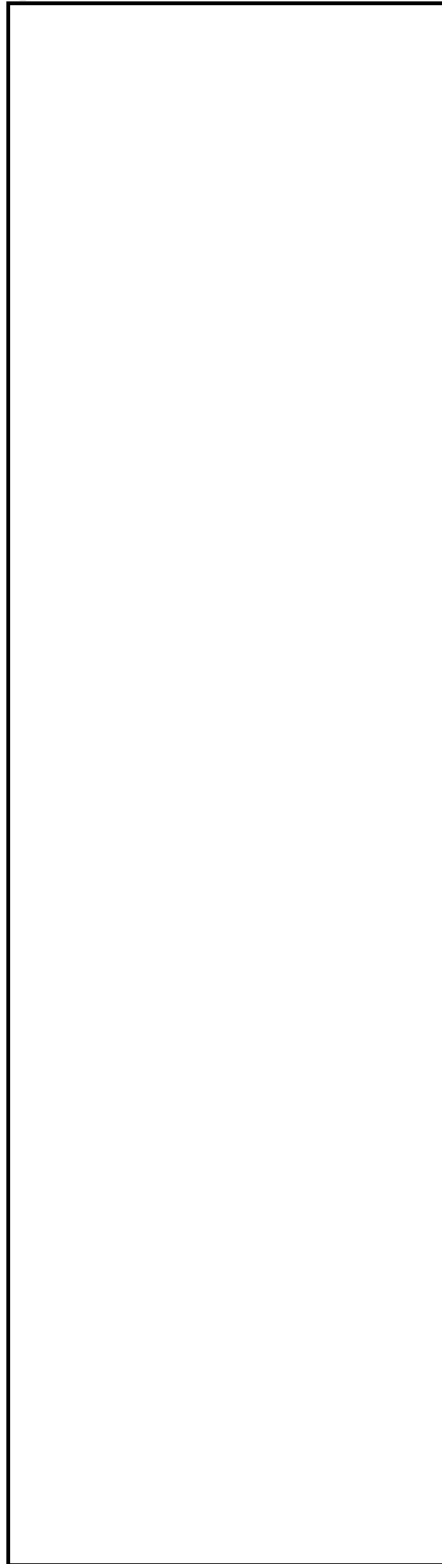
100-69819

100-69821

100-117763

CJG:ec1
-3-

NY 100-80638



100-89611
100-42479
105-1891
100-13470
100-55472
100-78632
100-66536
100-79793
100-128225
100-111587
100-113869
100-9260
100-58462
100-124912
100-122241
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100-110065
100-79677
100-85787
100-62083
100-127766
100-128752
100-7576

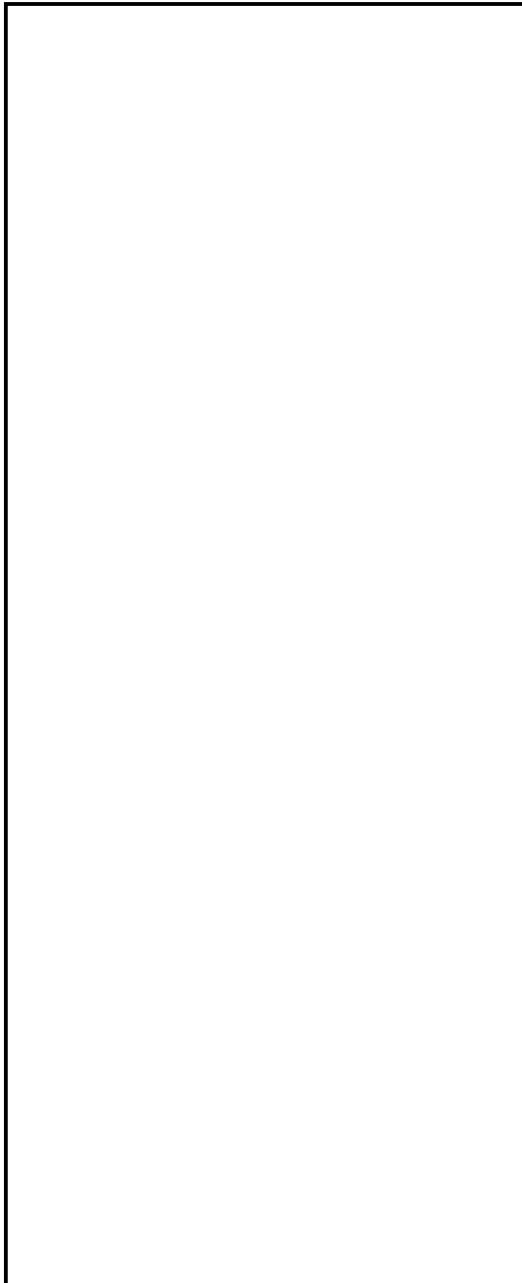
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b7c

CJG:ecl
-1-

NY 100-80638

Chelsea-Incoln Square Section

Club (S) Unknown



100-131104

100-25585

100-64086

100-94506

100-98754

100-70007

100-115835

100-70030

100-132833

100-55418

100-86155

100-86579

100-96983

100-70087

100-83214

100-94357

100-104847

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

Lower Harlem Section

[redacted]	(above), Co-chairman	
[redacted]	Co-chairman	100-131786
[redacted]	(above), Organizational Secretary	
[redacted]	(above) Education Director	
[redacted]	Membership Director	100-101760
[redacted]	Financial Director	100-14214
[redacted]	Literature Director	100-13293
[redacted]	(above), Mass Work	

b6
b7C

Spanish Club

[redacted]		100-81865
[redacted]		100-62900
[redacted]		100-79115
[redacted]		100-131895
[redacted]	(above)	
[redacted]	(above)	
[redacted]	(above)	

b6
b7C

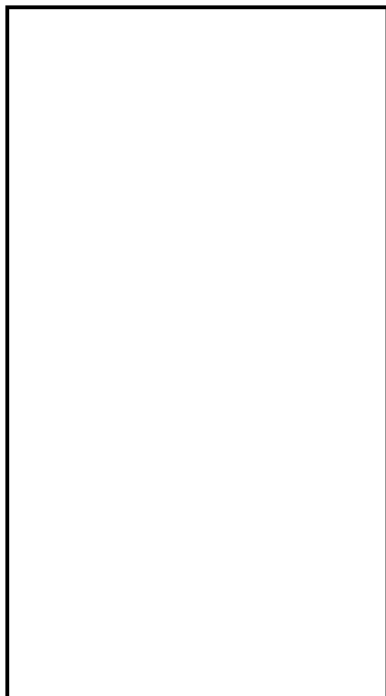
Club Unknown

[redacted]	(above)	
[redacted]	(above)	
[redacted]	(above)	
[redacted]		100-129758

DLB:jlh

- 2 -

NY 100-80638



ove)

e)

100-115678

100-65011

100-83194

100-131353

100-87107

b6
b7c

100-113643

100-130944

100-94290

100-132704

NY 100-80638

Upper West Side Section

Officers



(above)

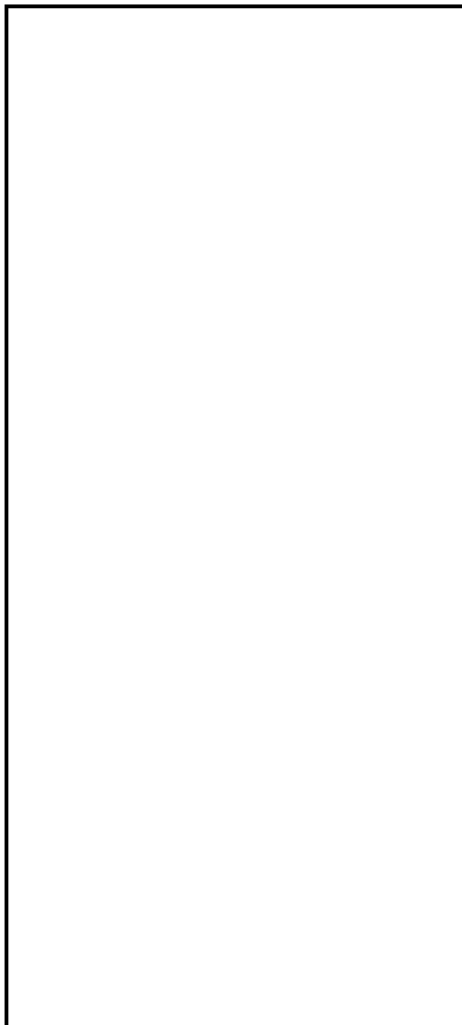
100-99801

100-122352

b6
b7C

Clubs: Number and Names Unknown

Club(s) Unknown



100-95722

100-62625

100-85671

100-101488

100-93533

100-68833

100-51602

100-26033

100-87233

100-85889

100-62782

100-85536

100-103752

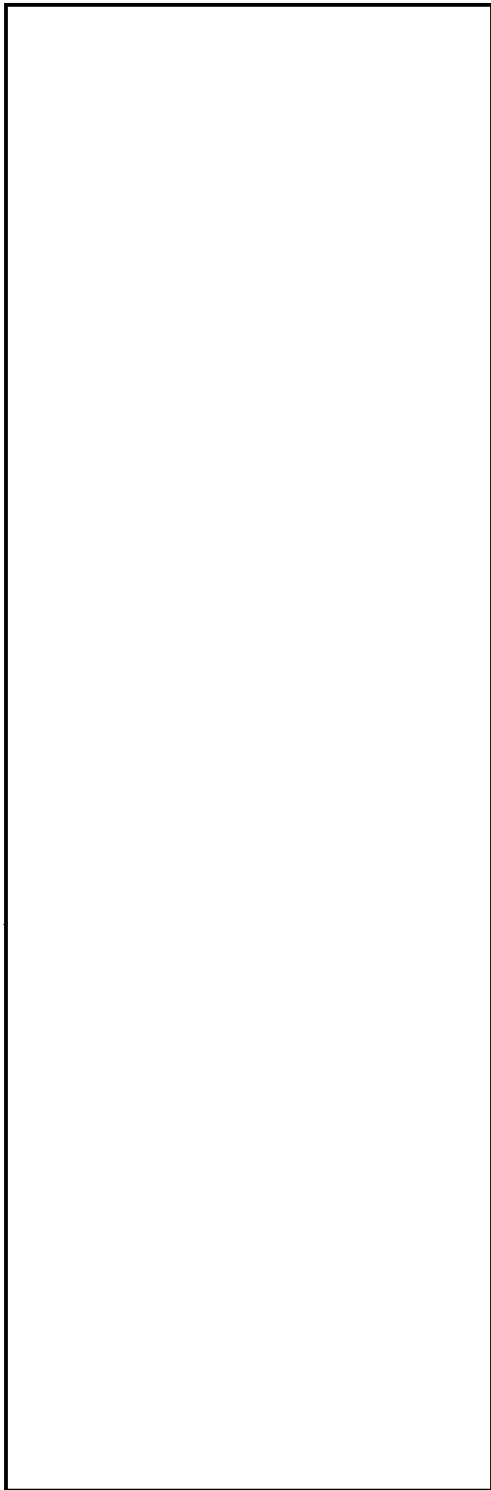
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100-121882

100-104533

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638



100-49407

100-61576

100-61288

100-58135

100-108801

100-132163

100-67640

100-7976

100-83496

100-101400

100-20

100-70399

100-86296

100-113338

100-85434

100-103749

100-18141

100-91735

100-106737

100-47632

100-13231

100-62649

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

Upper East Side Section

[Redacted] Membership and Finance Director 100-98523

[Redacted] Press Director 100-26776

B Club

[Redacted] (above), chairman
(T) 100-55498
100-69771
100-97732
bove)

b6
b7C

C Club

[Redacted] Chairman 100-81285
100-26970
100-96733
100-81859
100-91946

b6
b7C

D Club

[Redacted] Chairman 100-97632
[Redacted] Chairman 100-22596
[Redacted] (above) 100-104009
100-118524
100-119329

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

[Redacted]

100-130229

K Club

[Redacted]

Chairman

100-112168

(T)

100-130820

(T)

100-67329

100-25907

100-62329

(T)

100-68846

b6
b7C

N Club

[Redacted]

ove), Chairman

100-111351

)

100-66511

(above)

100-90565

100-8777

(T)

100-66440

b6
b7C

100-121701

100-8033

100-114956

100-82375

100-119303

100-72926

NY 100-80638



(T)

Club Unknown



(T)

(T)

100-54049
100-102609
100-104043

100-57749
100-82382
100-70333
100-43414
100-82379
100-95097
100-102887
100-84135

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

DWW:gao
(1)

Harlem Section

Organizer

[redacted] (above)

Assistant Organizer

[redacted] (above)

Educational Director

ROBESON, PAUL JR. (above)

Executive Secretary

[redacted] 100-88395

[redacted] (Assistant) 100-62955

Parents Club

[redacted] (Chairman) 100-101849

[redacted] 100-126908

[redacted] 100-132360

[redacted])
100-95140

[redacted] 100-107582

Tenants Club

[redacted] (above) (Chairman)

[redacted] 100-90472

Political Action Club

ROBESON, PAUL JR. (above) (Co-Chairman)

[redacted] (above) (Co-Chairman)

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

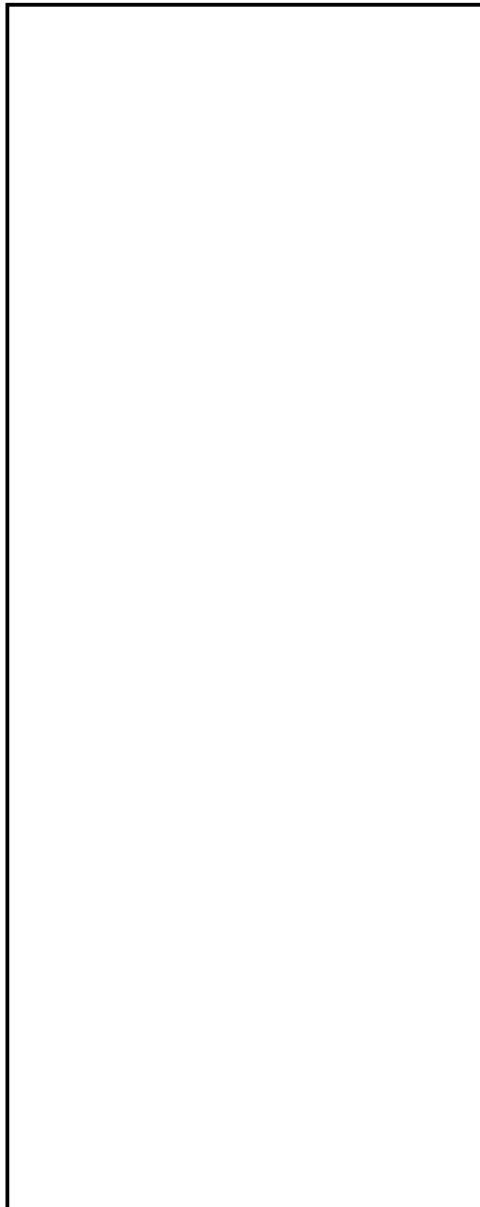
b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

DWW:gao
(2)

Harlem Section (Cont'd)

Club Unknown



100-107211

100-90674

100-62551

100-64944

100-96276

100-121761

100-64370

100-24638

100-80569

100-129750

100-45328

100-105217

100-96729

100-24616

100-86516

100-67045

100-104258

DAVIS, BENJAMIN J. JR. (above)



100-126403

100-106260

b6
b7C

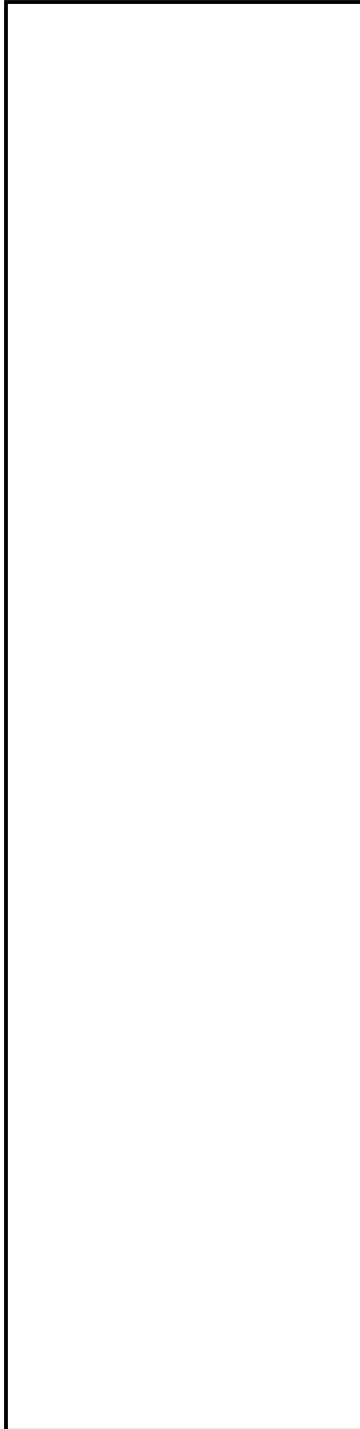
b6
b7C

DWW:gao
(3)

NY 100-80638

Harlem Section (Con'd)

Club Unknown (Cont'd)



T)

)

E

(T)

100-127855

100-96917

100-69086

100-101960

100-83274

100-81495

100-49583

100-100274

100-118884

100-103312

100-92557

100-88134

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100-129236

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100-93502

100-62847

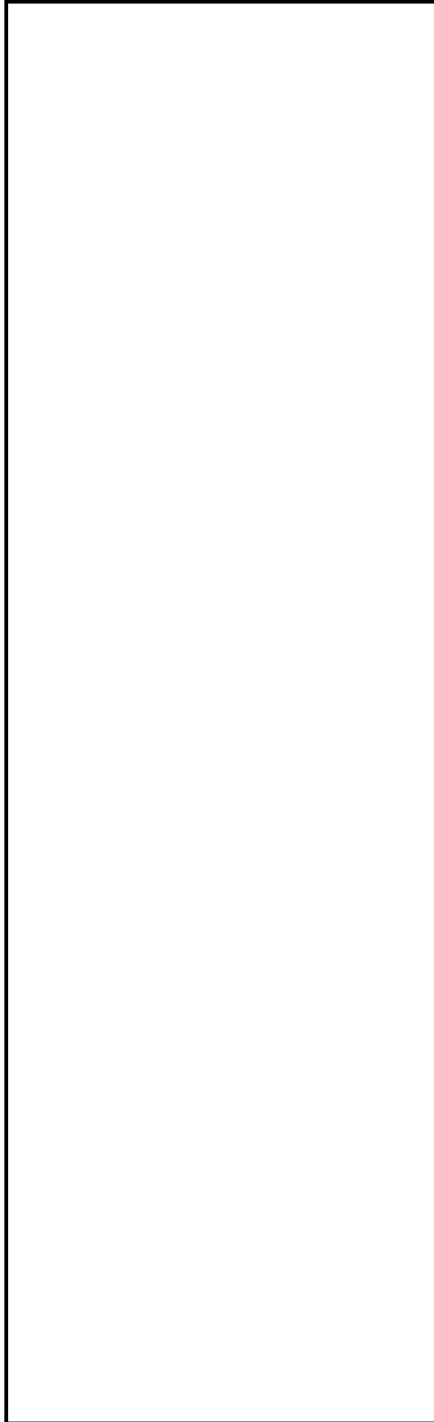
b6
b7c

DWW:gao
(4)

NY 100-80638

Harlem Section (cont'd)

Club Unknown (cont'd)



100-120865

100-126473

100-54378

100-117792

100-121852

100-82209

100-73325

100-128404

100-127818

100-54694

100-11420

100-92446

100-129773

100-42448

100-81547

100-67900

100-103973

100-90990

100-97633

100-82454

100-112059

100-108812

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

DWW:gao
(5)

Harlem Section (cont'd)

Club Unknown (cont'd)



100-95477

100-115770

100-114623

100-92822

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS SECTION

ORGANIZER

[redacted] (above)

CLUB UNKNOWN

[redacted] (above), Chairman

[redacted] Educational Director 100-66199

[redacted] 100-93853

[redacted] 100-117163

[redacted] 100-134000

[redacted] 100-82863

[redacted] 100-118051

[redacted] 100-16854

[redacted] 100-57707

[redacted] 100-129120

[redacted] 100-93138

[redacted] 100-121406

[redacted] 100-118759

[redacted]

[redacted] 100-113201

[redacted] 100-96796

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

INWOOD SECTION

Officers

[Redacted]

100-131688

b6
b7C

[Redacted] (above)

100-131688

Clubs

1. PA Club
2. Project Club
3. Com. Club #1
4. Com. Club #2

Club Unknown

[Redacted]

(T)

100-124861

100-100707

100-131840

100-56443

b6
b7C

100-122984

100-124959

100-63739

100-132820

100-132397

BPM: dww
- 2 -

NY 100-80638



100-87518

100-101143

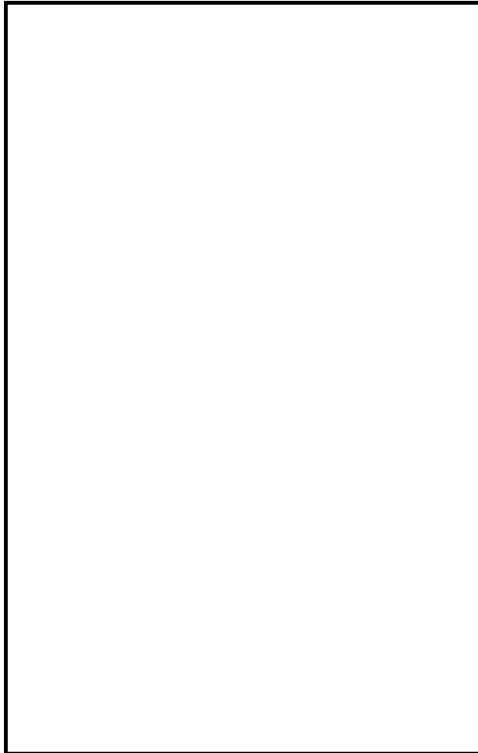
100-81450

100-117217

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

Section And Club Unknown



BLUMBERG, ALBERT (above)



100-54965

100-109493

100-111941

100-57644

100-67336

100-124034

100-45462

100-52331

100-86392

100-57767

100-110300

100-80124

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100-127744

100-111136

100-132859

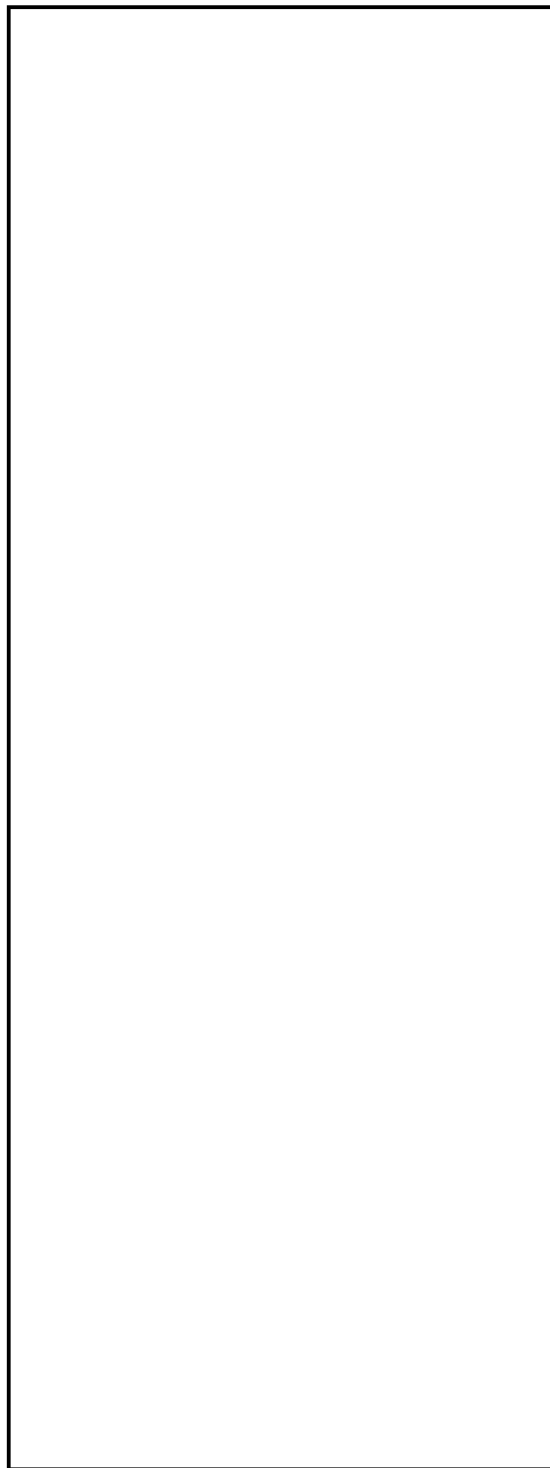
b6
b7C

b6
b7C

DWW:ajk

- 3 -

NY 100-80638



100-125018

100-68315

100-110928

100-50806

100-102883

100-96519

100-107774

100-121875

100-58546

100-99286

100-18402

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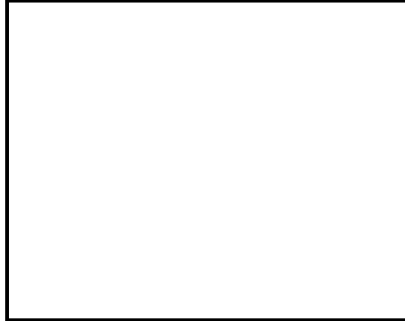
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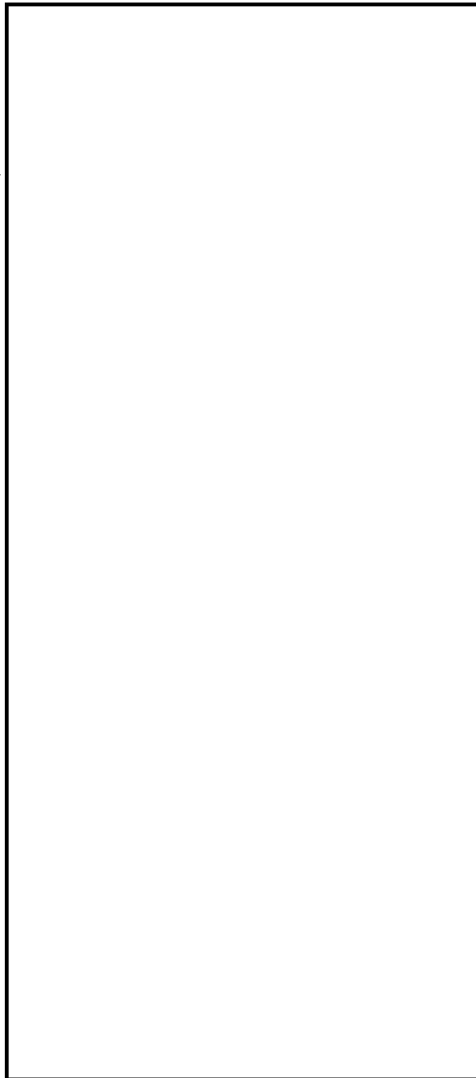
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b7c

NY 100-80638



(T)



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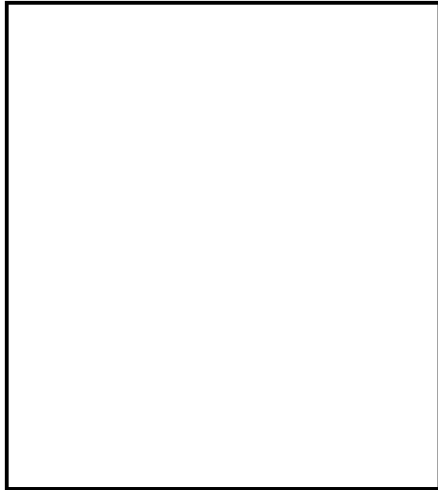
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100-53177

b6
b7C

DWW:ajk
- 5 -

NY 100-80638



100-113559

100-114828

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100-49702

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100-96461

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100-89979

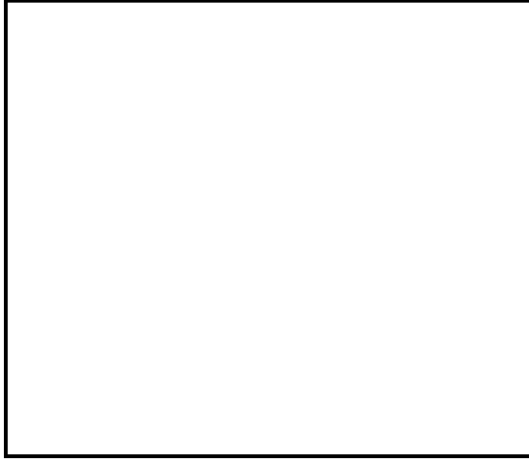
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b6
b7c

NY 100-80638



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b7C



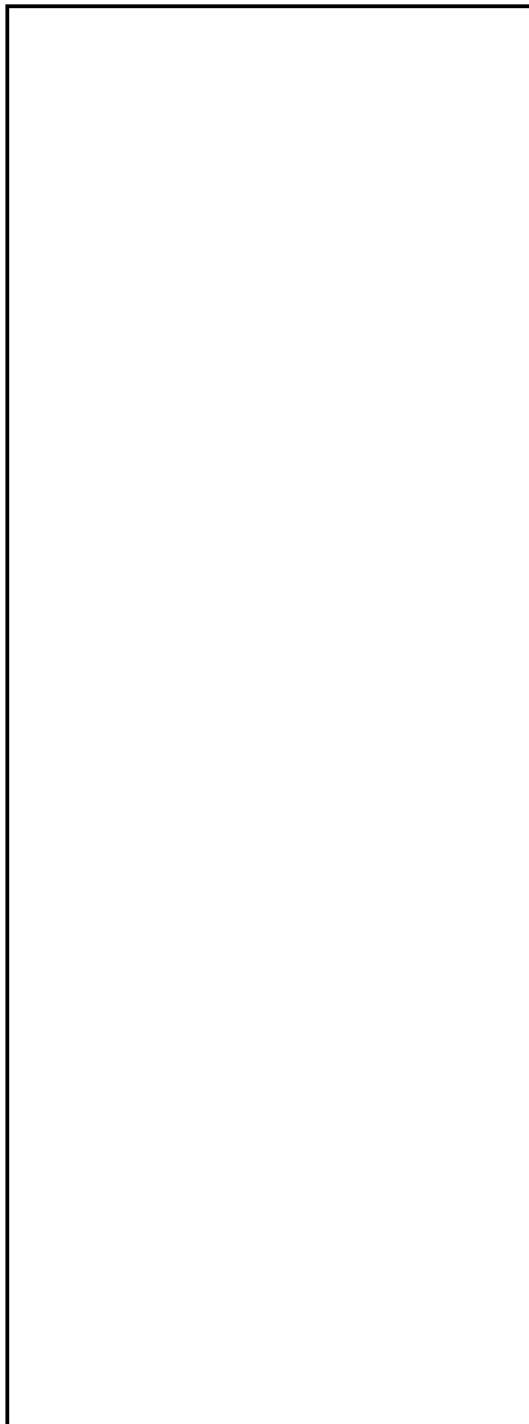
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b6
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DWW:ajk

- 7 -

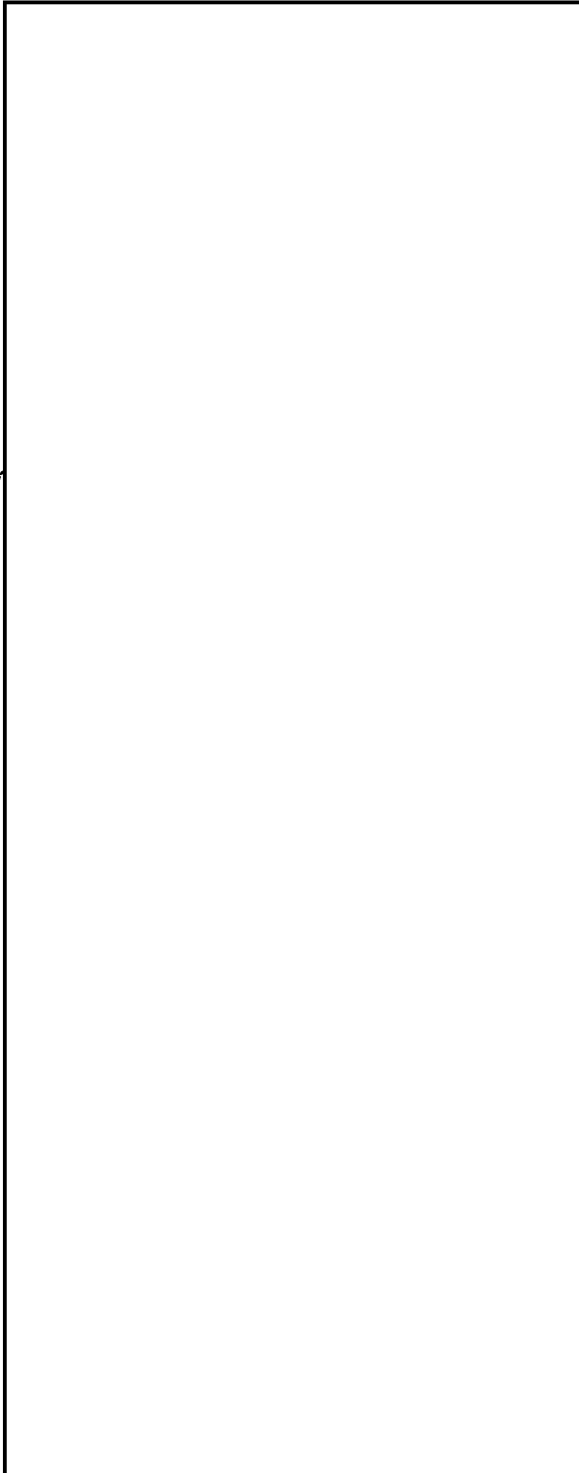
NY 100-80638



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100-11160
100-34665
100-5767
100-132947
100-80046
100-26041
100-127255

b6
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NY 100-80638



100-5700
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100-110139

b6
b7c

DWW:ajk
- 9 -

NY 100-80638



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b7c

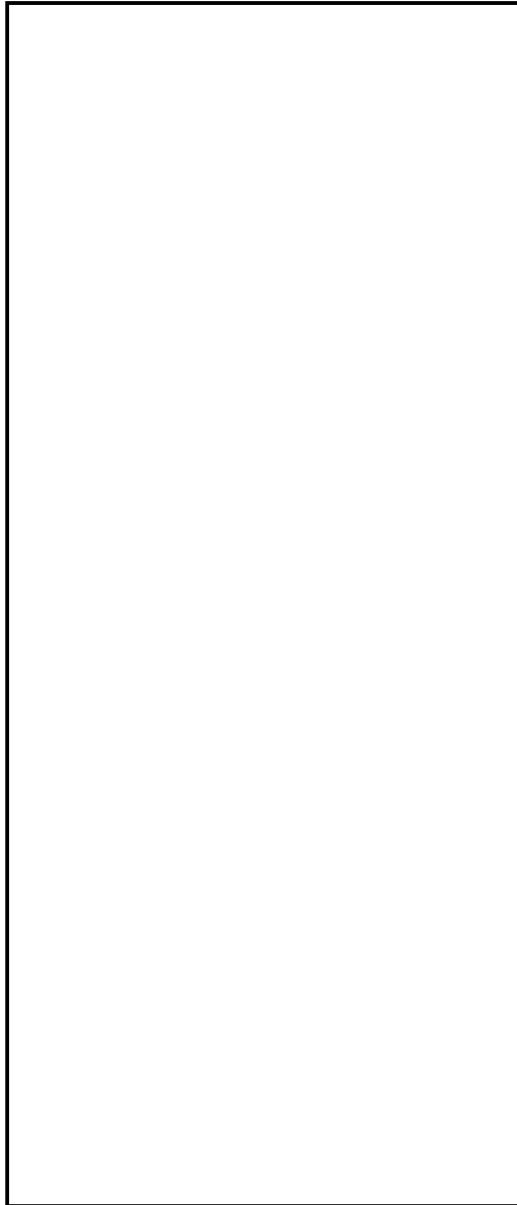
NY 100-80638

NASSAU COUNTY CP

The Nassau County CP is composed
of individuals residing in Nassau and Suffolk
Counties.

NY 100-80638

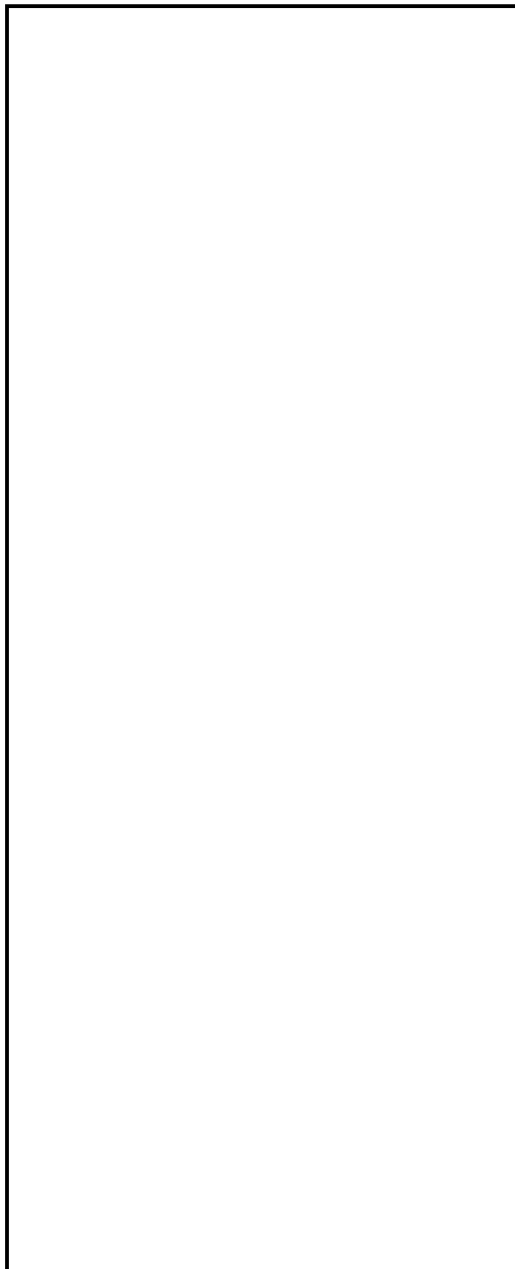
SECTION AND CLUB UNKNOWN



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b6
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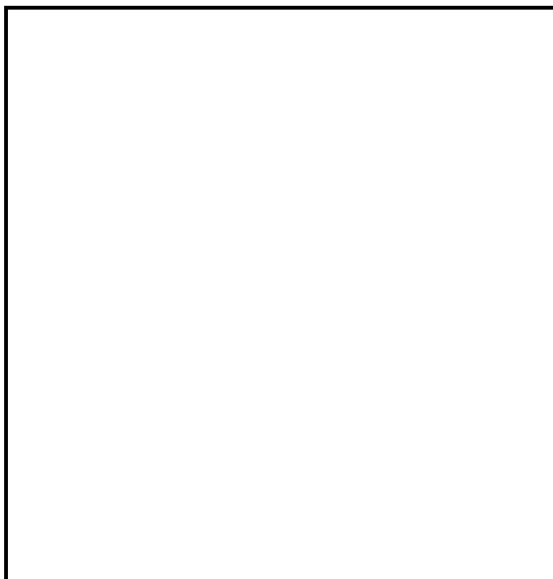
NY 100-80638



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100-114410
100-114408
100-13335
100-51091
100-65500
100-124778

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638



100-107280

100-63728

100-80526

100-61825

100-66682

100-66040

100-66039

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100-119200

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

RICHMOND COUNTY CP

SECTION AND CLUB UNKNOWN



100-49636

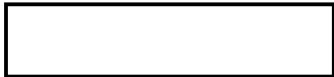
b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

WESTCHESTER COUNTY GP

The Westchester County GP is composed of individuals residing in Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess, Rockland, Orange, Ulster, Sullivan and Greene Counties.

COUNTY OFFICIAL



100-105448

b6
b7C

SECTION AND CLUB UNKNOWN



100-9756

100-20128

100-77040

100-89510

100-56488

100-65040

65-13809

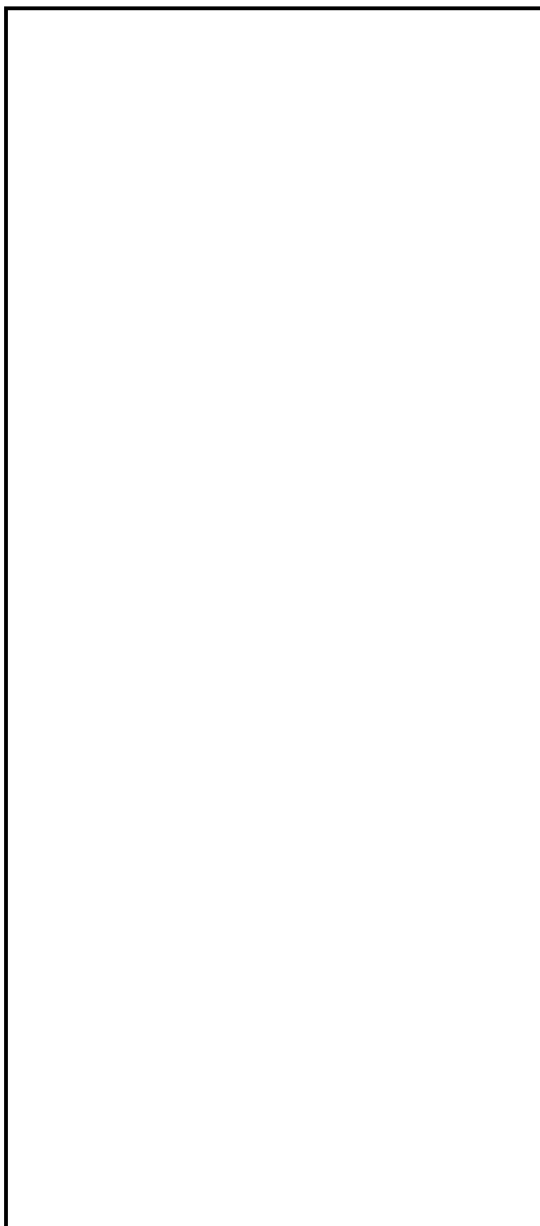
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100-78130

100-120257

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b7D

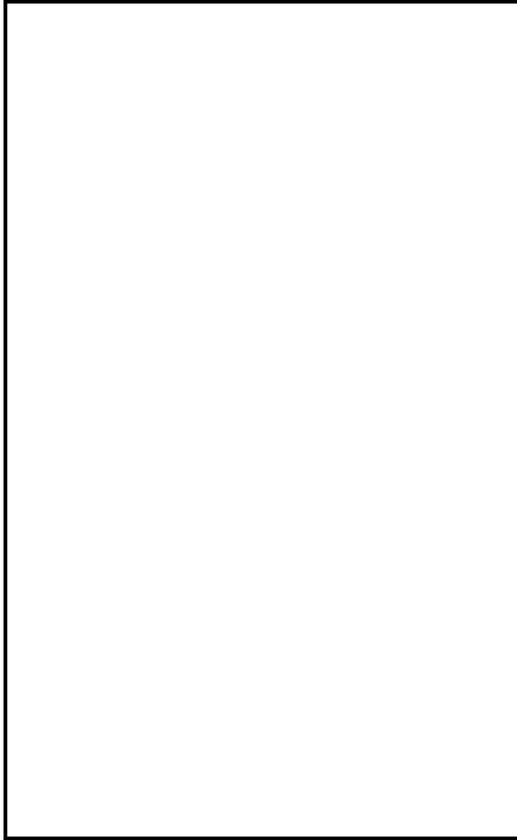
NY 100-80638



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105-4821
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100-23125
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100-87554
100-82890
100-13444
100-53815
100-94653
100-116269
100-119364
100-97483

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638



100-96402

100-80514

100-108532

100-103394

100-81323

100-104048

100-129209

100-111594

100-113646

100-66869

100-107098

100-73665

100-62555

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638
Industrial Division

WJD:ecl
-1-

Consists of Industrial Board and 16 Regions

Industrial Board

[REDACTED]	Chairman	100-49149
[REDACTED]	Vice Chairman	100-50094
ALBERTSON, WILLIAM,	Executive Secretary	100-129629
[REDACTED]	Press Director	100-60640
[REDACTED]	Finance Director	100-102602
[REDACTED]		100-128532
[REDACTED]		100-93963
[REDACTED]		100-56
[REDACTED]		100-83111
[REDACTED]		100-84066
[REDACTED]		100-113909
[REDACTED]		100-105531
[REDACTED]		100-67003
[REDACTED]		100-100124
[REDACTED]		100-467
[REDACTED]		100-13206
[REDACTED]		100-67670
[REDACTED]		100-79937
[REDACTED]		100-116704

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

WJD:ecl
-2-

NY 100-80638

Building Trades Region

[Redacted]

Regional Official 100-93963
100-77598
100-52595
100-9108
100-102846
100-49149
100-87301
100-79770
100-88261
100-66814
100-62773
100-58541
100-16975

[Redacted]

b6
b7c

Cultural Region

[Redacted]

, Regional Organizer (above)

[Redacted]

100-130368
100-82387
100-7732
100-107349
100-59309
100-95911
100-101310
100-58535

b6
b7c

NY 100-80638



100-83372

100-68721

100-102050

100-110397

100-108398

b6
b7c

Distributive Region



(above) Regional Official 100-128532



100-120209

100-130381

BLUMBERG, DR. ALBERT

100-9984



100-55697

100-113863

100-106126

100-86094

100-88826

100-128888

100-86944

100-115008

100-64662

100-43375

100-34462

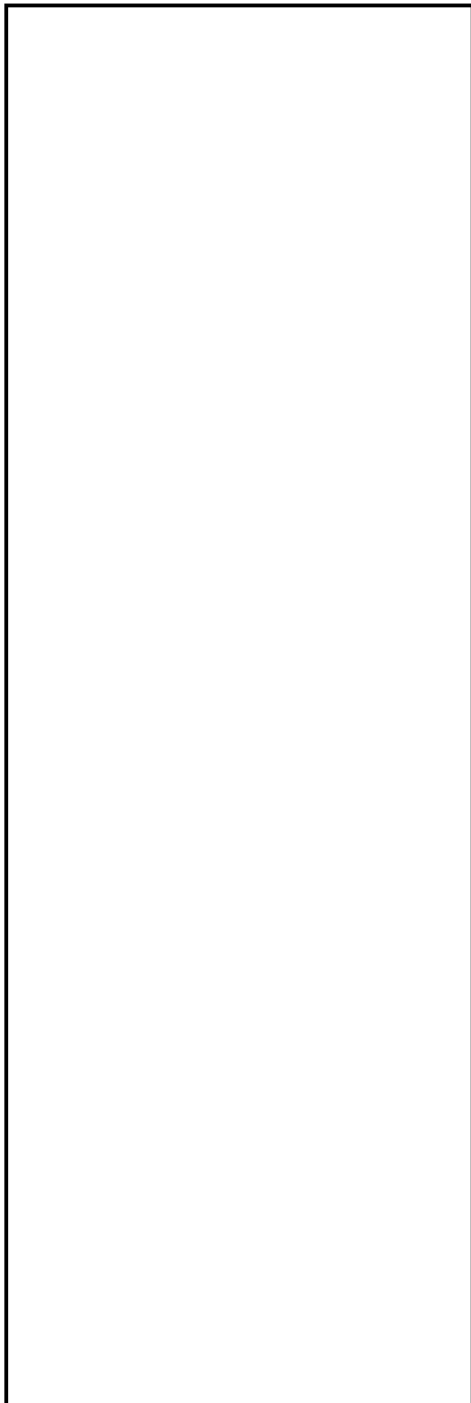
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100-102602

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b7c

WJD:ec1
--4--

NY 100-80638



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100-131828
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100-88571
100-26448
100-121144
100-97067
100-43367
100-85069
100-117542
100-114588
100-133653
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b6
b7c

NY 100-80638

WJD:ecl
-5-

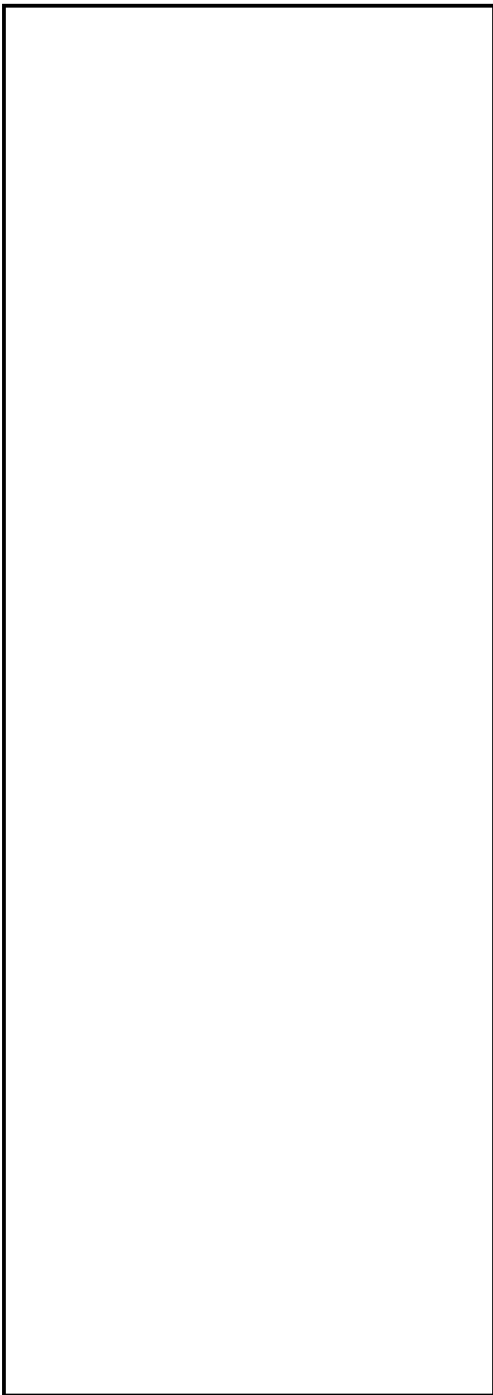
[Redacted] (T)

100-68963

b6
b7c

Electric and Machine Region

[Redacted] Region Official (above) 100-113909

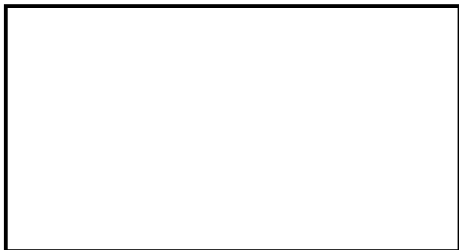


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- 100-130173
- 100-81434
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- 100-82248
- 100-276
- 100-65320
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- 100-41319
- 100-96813
- 100-109727
- 100-127290
- 100-93661
- 100-108413
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- 100-123328
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- 100-47854
- 100-95589
- 100-120980
- 100-128905

b6
b7c

ROSENBERG, KARL

NY 100-80638



100-90736
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100-68404
100-118792

b6
b7C

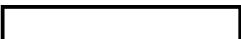
Film and Arts Region



(above) Region Official 100-100124

b6
b7C

Food and Bakers Region



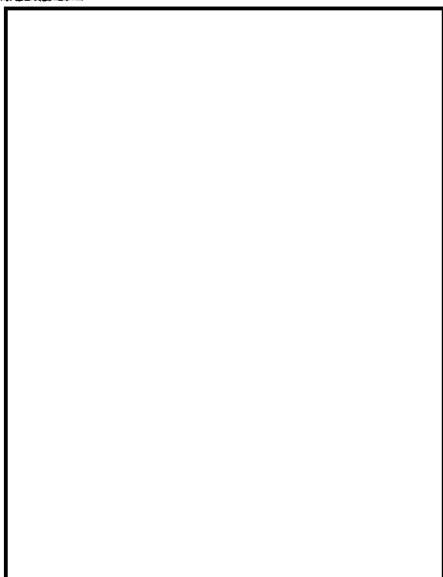
(above) Regional Official 100-105531



100-129025
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100-88361
100-21431

b6
b7C

Fur Region



Region Official 100-79937
100-64499
100-122604
100-103125
100-81060
100-106985
100-79404
100-95782
100-76021

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

Germent Region

[Redacted]

(above) Regional Official 100-50094

[Large Redacted Block]

100-64740

100-77312

100-76571

100-86138

100-81368

100-131705

100-71105

100-64049

100-83828

100-72625

100-88546

100-47831

100-64074

100-92428

100-9375

100-94023

100-54098

100-58099

b6
b7C

Longshore Region

Officers unknown

[Redacted]

100-50401

b6
b7C

Maritime Region

[Redacted]

(above) Regional Officer

100-84066

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

WJD:ecl
-8-



100-95139
100-22970
100-34615
100-62425
100-118333
100-97955
100-120091
100-103904
100-95431
100-117446
100-64187
100-81671
100-92752
100-132059
100-64696
100-86971

b6
b7C

Printing Guild and Lithographers Region

[redacted] (above) Regional Official 100-60640

[redacted] (above) Regional Official 100-116704

[redacted]
100-120250
100-50844
100-13354
100-92919

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

WJD:ecl
-9

Railroad Region

[redacted] (Above) Regional Official 100-13206

[redacted] 100-66909

[redacted] 100-83193

[redacted] 100-117943

b6
b7C

Shoe, ACWA (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America)

Furniture Region

[redacted] Regional Organizer (above) 100-67670

[redacted] 100-94360

[redacted] 100-95295

[redacted] 100-89531

[redacted] 100-71160

[redacted] 100-21444

[redacted] 100-133364

[redacted] 100-76580

b6
b7C

Special Concentrations Region

[redacted] (above) Region Official 100-56

b6
b7C

Teamsters Region

[redacted] Regional Official 100-83111

[redacted] 100-50704

[redacted] 100-49648

b6
b7C

Transport Region

Officers unknown

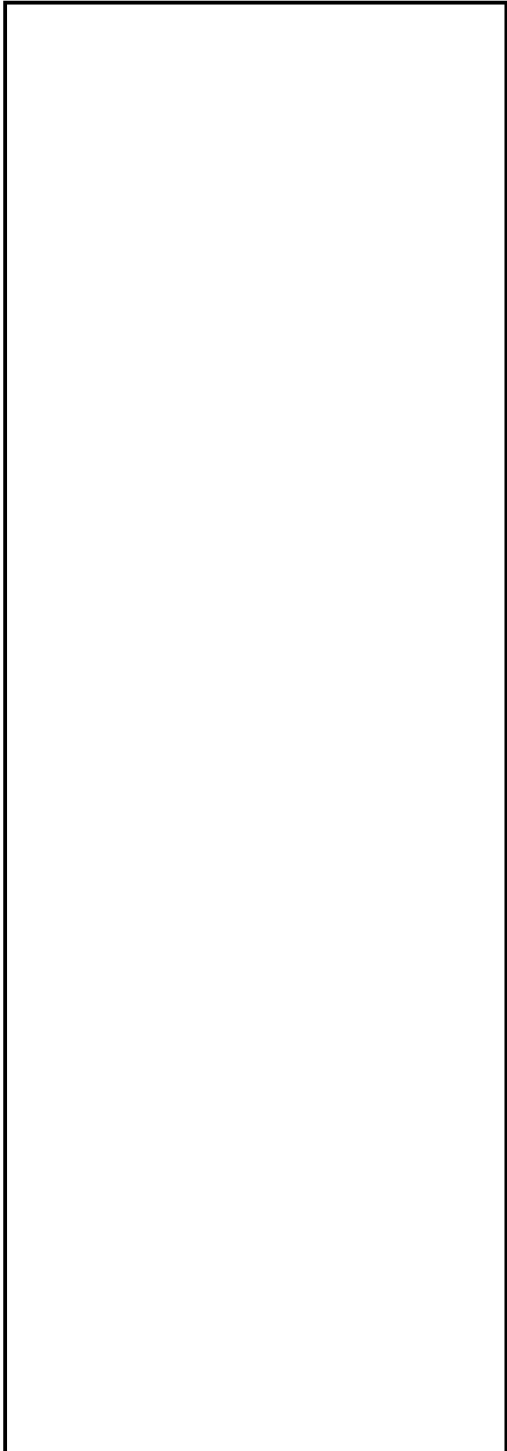
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b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

WJD:ecl
-10-

Regional Affiliation Unknown

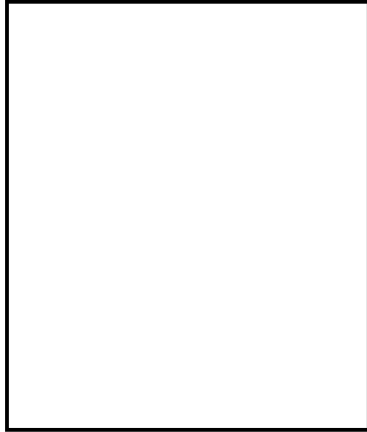


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- 100-51191
- 100-87995
- 100-103494
- 100-103819
- 100-22066
- 100-126833
- 100-81762
- 100-21259
- 100-94429
- 100-105316
- 100-65554
- 105-3323
- 100-82438
- 100-69071
- 100-106148
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- 100-86880
- 100-83595
- 100-100802

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NY 100-80638

WJD:ecl
-11-



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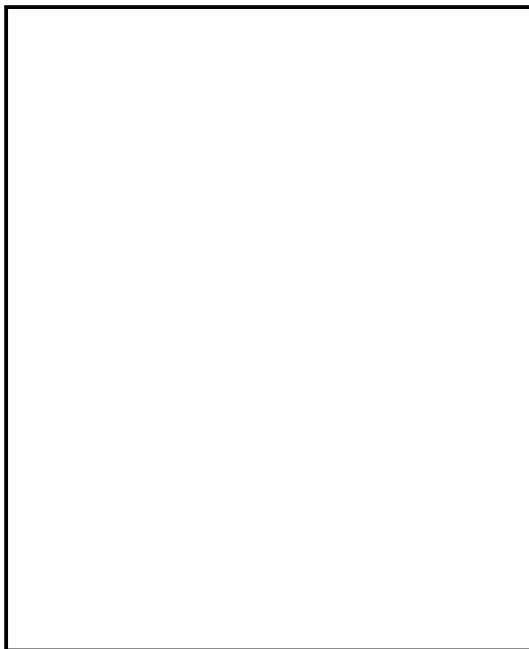
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100-130290

b6
b7C

NY 100-80638

Residence Unknown (Verification Pending)



(T)

100-117665

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100-126931

100-64070

100-102442

100-112920

100-69927

100-114458

100-118631

100-129161

b6
b7C

Hereafter, each bimonthly progress letter will show additions and/or deletions of individuals from the pertinent counties, sections, or clubs, and will include the over-all statistics outlined on page two of reBulet.

F B I

Date: 2/3/58

- SEC. 1
- SEC. 2
- SEC. 3
- SEC. 4
- SEC. 5
- SEC. 6
- SEC. 7
- SEC. 8
- SEC. 9
- SEC. 10
- SEC. 11
- SEC. 12
- SEC. 13
- SEC. 14
- SEC. 15
- SEC. 16
- SEC. 17
- SEC. 18
- SEC. 19
- SEC. 20

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or method of mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (97-401)
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-26827)
PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.
IS - C
CINAL

GEORGE MORRIS, Labor Editor, "The Worker" in talk at CP meeting, CP/USA, New England District, Brookline, Mass., 2/1/58, stated new committee of five, of which he is member, will control "The Worker" until National Executive Committee, CP, USA, can straighten out their difficulties. Said the CP has had no say in "The Worker" for past one and one half years. Stated "The Worker" has plans for enlargement including articles from other countries, with number of people deported from USA willing to contribute. Urged concerted drive for subscriptions and membership registration drive.

b7D

Above furnished orally by [redacted] 2/2/58.

LAUGHLIN

- 6- Bureau (97-401)
 - (1- 100-3-68 CP MEMBERSHIP)
 - (1- 100-3-88 CP FACTIONALISM)
 - (1- 100-3-69 CP ORGANIZATION)
- 5- New York
 - (1- 100- GEORGE MORRIS)
 - (1- 97- PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.)
 - (1- 100- CP FACTIONALISM)
 - (1- 100- CP ORGANIZATION)
 - (1- 100- CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 3- Boston (100-26827)
 - (1- 100-27647 CINAL)

100-80638-1376

SEARCHED [] INDEXED []
SERIALIZED [] FILED []
FEB 5 1958
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LMM:bat
(14)

AIR TEL

DIRECTOR, FBI. (100-3-68)

2/11/58

Wm

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638) (19-1)

CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

- ___ SAC
- ___ DIV. 1
- ___ DIV. 2
- ___ DIV. 3
- ___ DIV. 4
- ___ SEC. 1
- ___ SEC. 2
- ___ SEC. 3
- ___ SEC. 4
- ___ SEC. 5
- ___ SEC. 6
- ___ SEC. 7
- ___ SEC. 8
- ___ SEC. 9
- ___ SEC. 10
- ___ SEC. 11
- ___ SEC. 12
- ___ SEC. 13
- ___ SEC. 14
- ___ SEC. 15
- ___ SEC. 16
- ___ SEC. 17
- ___ SEC. 18
- ___ SEC. 19
- ___ SEC. 20

b7D

On 2/6/58, [redacted] furnished two copies of a mimeographed letter on CP, USA letterhead dated 1/28/58, to all districts and signed by SID STEIN. This letter was obtained by the informant on 1/28/58, at CP, USA headquarters where 30 copies were mimeographed.

This letter urged that the various districts submit their registration information prior to the 2/14/58, National Executive Committee meeting.

A copy of this letter is enclosed herewith.

See also serial 1371

- 2 - BUREAU (100-3-68) (1 Encl.)
- ② - NEW YORK (100-80638) (19-1)

[redacted]

JAH:man/DJG
(4)

dp

100-80638-1377

best available image

100-80638

Membership

Albany	100-26603-Sub F	Miami	100-9763
Albuquerque	100-12524	Milwaukee	100-3916
Atlanta	100-85093	Minneapolis	100-21958
Baltimore	100-34927	Newark	100-7451
Baltimore	100-11832	New Haven	100-14532
Birmingham	100-9003	New Orleans	100-2687
Boaton	100-32971	Norfolk	100-4792
Buffalo	100-26603-Sub F	Oklahoma City	100-9786
Butte	100-9254	Omaha	100-27485
Charlotte	100-13618	Philadelphia	100-34927
Chicago	65-2977	Phoenix	100-133641
Cincinnati	100-18481	Pittsburgh	100-20136
Cleveland	100-18481	Pittsburgh	100-34855
Dallas	100-12397	Portland	100-87658
Denver	100-12524	Richmond	100-4792
Detroit	100-26854	St. Louis	100-30114
El Paso	100-12524	Salt Lake City	100-61916
Honolulu	100-133639	San Antonio	100-12397
Houston	100-12397	San Diego	100-133638
Indianapolis	100-82987	San Francisco	100-133640
Kansas City	100-30114	Seattle	100-10262
Los Angeles	100-133638	Springfield	65-2977
Louisville	100-18481	Wash. F.O.	100-11832
Memphis	100-9003		

100-80638-1378

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 2/3/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

Care must be utilized in handling and reporting the following information, since the very nature of this information tends to disclose the identity of a highly placed and sensitive informant.

On 1/21/58, NY 2179-S* advised that on above date, SID STEIN had a conversation in his office at CP Headquarters, NYC, with an individual believed by informant to be JACK KLING.

According to the informant, STEIN told KLING that the "extreme left of left" leaves him cold, because he has seen what has happened. He said that 14 members of the extreme left are on the Committee, and that GENE (DENNIS), in the last three or four months, has taken up the position of FOSTER (WILLIAM Z.) in the extreme left. STEIN further remarked "what you guys call the extreme left in Chicago, is the left in NY, JOHN." STEIN then mentioned that the (WILL) WEINSTONE articles is the kind of sectarianism that was defeated 25 years ago.

Continuing, informant advised that STEIN told KLING that according to GEORGE WATT, "the actual registration

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-18953) (CP, USA - Organization) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (JACK KLING)
- 1 - New York (100-89590) (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry) (19-1)
- ① - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - Membership) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA - Factionalism) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-9595) (WILL WEINSTONE) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-18673) [redacted] (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-50090) (SID STEIN)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-13483) (NETTY CANNETT)
- 1 - New York (100-19249) (JACK KLING) (7-6)
- 1 - New York (100-80641)

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HCO:amm
(17)

100-80638-1379

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

NY 100-80641

is now down to 200 or so," (believed referring to NY County.) STEIN then stated "We are not good Marxists," as we have not shown sufficient leadership to the ALP. STEIN said that they should forget personalities and to get theoretical leadership in order to unite the Party. STEIN said that they can work on the Party constitution and then added, "GENE (DENNIS) is not a unifying force." He said that in his opinion, the policy-making body should be the executive committee, with three members to comprise the secretariat which will be in the center. He said that you must give the idea that there is "no full-timer for evermore."

According to the informant, KLING attempted to interject a thought, and STEIN said, "Wait, JACK, we're heading in that direction - the danger is a lot more than JACK (STACHEL?) realizes." STEIN said that the majority of the National Committee is moving in the direction of the decisions of the Convention.

According to the informant, the discussion concluded with KLING remarking that he was going to see PHIL (BART) that evening, and BETTY (GANNETT) the next night.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-112422) (12-10)

2/5/53

SA [redacted] (12-10)

HARRIET GORDON
SI - 6

Source	[redacted]
Reliability	Has furnished reliable information in the past.
Date of Event	1/24/53
Date Information Received	1/23/53
Received By	SA [redacted]
Location of Information	[redacted]

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THIS INFORMATION SHOULD BE MOST CAREFULLY PARAPHRASED IF IT IS DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE PROTECTED.

It is noted that the conversations reported took place between the informant and the captioned subject alone.

The following is a copy of the informant's report:

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[redacted]

- 1 - NY (100-17023) (JOHN GARRIS) (19)
- 1 - NY (100-87211) (CP, USA - Sabotage) (19)
- 1 - NY (100-80633) (CP, USA - Membership & Recruiting) (19)
- 1 - NY (100-26003-040) (Bronx County CP) (12-1)
- 1 - NY (100-112422) (HARRIET GORDON) (12-10)
- 1 - NY (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19)

MLW:fcf
(6)

100-80638-1380

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FEB 5 1953	
FBI - NEW YORK	

#19

January 25, 53

On January 24th 53 I had lunch with [redacted]
The following took place, -

I told her that I had just about given up hope of hoping to see my ideals and beliefs toward Communism come true. And that I felt alone - now that John Gates had given up the Daily Worker.

[redacted] told me that although John Gates did give up the "Worker" - our voice to the public is not lost - And that the hope of the Party will be held in gather through Mr. Forster.

[redacted] asked me if "anyone" had ever asked me to join the "Party" - I told her - that no one ever had - She asked if I would like to join - I told her that it was what I - wanted - and what I believe in -

[redacted] told me that she will talk to her friends about me joining the Communist Party - and I would know by the time I returned from my trip - which should take approx 6 to 7 wks.

[redacted] told me that the Party needs - people such as myself - and that in the big fight going on with in the party at the moment - the ideas that hold true for Europe cannot hold true for the Western World.

We here in the U.S. are of a middle class - and are not in the true sense considered a "Worker" - and therefore the Party - must "think" and go after these people if - they are to obtain there goals - these people are not looked upon as workers.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
ILLINOIS DISTRICT,
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: 2/6/58

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[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA'S [redacted] on January 13, 1958, concerning a meeting of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois State Committee, which was held at 10:00 AM on January 11, 1958, in the English Lounge of the Lawson Y.M.C.A., 30 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. This oral information was written up in narrative report form and subsequently returned to [redacted] for his approval, initialing and signature. The signed, original, narrative report will be located in [redacted]

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - 100-3-88 (CP, USA, Factionalism)
 - 1 - 100-3-81 (CP, USA, International Relations)
- 17 - New York (RM)
 - 1 - 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)
 - 1 - 100-50090 (SID STEIN)
 - 1 - 100-17923 (JOHN GATES)
 - 1 - 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
 - 1 - 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
 - 1 - 100- (ROBERT THOMPSON)
 - 1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization)
 - 1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA, Membership)
 - 1 - 100-74560 (CP, USA, Funds)
 - 1 - 100-87211 (CP, USA, Factionalism)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, International Relations)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Negro Question)
 - 1 - 100-81675 (CP, USA, Pamphlets and Publications)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Education)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Brief)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, CP Attempts to Infiltrate Mass Organizations)
 - 1 - 100- ("Daily Worker")

- 57 - Chicago
 - [redacted]
 - 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - 1 - 100-644 (LUCIOUS ARMSTRONG)

Copies continued on ii

100-80638-1381

Waters

[Handwritten signature]

[Stamp: FILED]

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1 - 100-22435 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-14098 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
1 - 100-3303 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-18080 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-3301 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-21073 (LESTER DAVIS)
1 - 100-17376 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-18001 (FRED FINE)
1 - 100-4031 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-12459 (FLO HALL)
1 - 100-21526 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-2515 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)
1 - 100-3720 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-13332 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-9948 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-13165 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-22078 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-2749 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-20289 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-16711 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-8457 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-19743 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-24947 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-19337 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)
1 - 100-33741 (CP, USA, Organization)
1 - 100-18952 (CP, USA, Membership)
1 - 100-33740 (CP, USA, Membership)
1 - 100-17769 (CP, USA, Funds)
1 - 100-33742 (CP, USA, Funds)
1 - 100-18963 (CP, USA, Factionalism)
1 - 100-33728 (CP, USA, Factionalism)
1 - 100-18961 (CP, USA, International Relations)
1 - 100-33729 (CP, USA, International Relations)
1 - 100-17797 (CP, USA, Political Activities)
1 - 100-33758 (CP, USA, Political Activities)
1 - 100-19431 (CP, USA, Strategy in Industry)
1 - 100-18956 (CP, USA, Negro Question)
1 - 100-33731 (CP, USA, Negro Question)
1 - 100-18209 (CP, USA, Pamphlets and Publications)
1 - 100-33737 (CP, USA, Pamphlets and Publications)
1 - 100-18338 (CP, USA, Education)
1 - 100-33739 (CP, USA, Education)

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- 1 - 100-17965 (CP, USA, Brief)
- 1 - 100-33738 (CP, USA, Brief)
- 1 - 100-34438 (CP, USA, CP Attempts to Infiltrate
Mass Organizations)
- 1 - 100-34437 (CP Attempts to Infiltrate Mass Organizations)
- 1 - 100-22011 (CP, USA, Flynn Section)
- 1 - 100-8261 (COMINFIL, NAACP)
- 1 - 100-25191 (Illinois Committee for Freedom of the Press)
- 1 - 100-9103 [REDACTED]

REB:LMA
(78)

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Chicago, Illinois
January 13, 1958

On January 11, 1958, at 10:00 AM, there was a meeting of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois State Committee in the English Lounge of the Lawson Y.M.C.A., 30 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, attended by the following persons:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT



MORRIS CHILDS



LESTER DAVIS



FRED FINE



FLO HALL



SAM KUSHNER



EARL DURHAM

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman of the CP of Illinois, made the opening remarks at this meeting. LUCIOUS ARMSTRONG was nominated as Chairman of this meeting and LESTER DAVIS was nominated to be Secretary. These nominations were unopposed.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the original agenda, which had included a discussion on the document prepared by the California CP, must be changed because of a new development (disagreement) between the National Executive Committee and the National Administrative Committee in New York over the position of the American CP regarding the "12 Party Document". LIGHTFOOT continued with a review of the situation confronting the Party today noting that:

1. In the international situation today, there is a greater possibility for peace. He noted that the meeting of the Eastern Communist countries resulted in (diplomatic) notes being sent to the capitalist countries. Also, notes were sent to President EISENHOWER and the leaders of the other NATO countries just prior to the NATO meeting by BULGANIN, which indicates the growing sentiment for peace.

2. The lead by Russia in scientific achievements such as Sputnik has dispelled the illusion of the United States Government's superiority in the cold war.

3. The counter-revolution in Hungary, which was inspired by forces outside of Hungary in an attempt to break

up the unity of the Soviet bloc, was repelled and ended in failure.

4. The exposure of the Cult of Stalin enhanced the knowledge of the CP on the whole, in Russia through disillusionment with the cult of the individual.

5. IKE's speech had some good points, but he came out second best at the NATO meeting because of ADENAUER's (Germany) and MACMILLAN's (England) positions.

6. The forces of "reaction" are using the Mc Clellan Committee to enact labor legislation within this Congress to stop the growing trend of the labor movement toward greater gains which has culminated in the partial merger of the AFL-CIO.

7. The heightened struggles of the Negro people, which are symbolized by the long, difficult struggles in Alabama, and the justified decisions of the Supreme Court against Jim Crow educational systems which culminated in State and Federal forces' intervening in Little Rock, were a decisive defeat of reaction.

8. The situation is grave concerning unemployment, mass lay-offs and an increase in the staggered work week among the majority of the people who are still working.

All these foregoing fundamentals present a very favorable situation for the Party in mass work, but in spite of this, in the main, this is not the picture.

LIGHTFOOT interrupted himself to say he forgot to mention the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington, and added the Party should be proud of it, although it did not receive proper credit. LIGHTFOOT continued, saying there has been ten months of isolation caused by certain factors out of our control. Certain things have set our Party back. It seems to be that this backdrop of isolation which has been caused by any number of things now presents the comrades with the picture that any program the Party is connected with means the kiss of death (for that program). The Party is not yet legal (accepted) in the peoples' organizations of our country.

There has been, no doubt, a steady decline in the membership of our Party. In the one year since the 16th National Convention the Party has not been stabilized. The anticipated decrease of 8% in membership has now passed 10% and there is a continuing

problem of people dropping out of the Party. Also, we have the differences of opinion portrayed in the California Document which claims that decisions of the 16th National Convention have not been carried out. LIGHTFOOT added that someone, whom he believed to be from the Flynn Section, said the CP of Illinois "needs a rest". To rest now would be "political cannibalism". There is no way to solve Party differences other than by diligent discussion and adoption of resolutions.

LIGHTFOOT next announced that the National leadership (of the CP) is divided on the "12 Party Document". He noted the history of the CP, USA, has been to follow the CPSU, but now it (CP, USA) questions everything. He added that the left calls this "revisionism".

LIGHTFOOT had a document with him, which had been prepared by a committee of the National Administrative Committee assigned to bring in a draft of principles concerning the "12 Party Document", which would indicate the American Party's position on this document (the "12 Party Document").

He also had reports by GENE DENNIS and SID STEIN, both of which had been discussed at the National Committee meeting. He added, however, that the National Executive Committee had not wanted to publish these reports.

LIGHTFOOT read excerpts from these reports, but he did not cover them in their entirety. With reference to these reports, he said a debate followed between FOSTER and GATES and DENNIS and STEIN. The feelings aroused by such discussions have brought the relationship of the National leadership right back to where it was prior to the 16th National Convention, with confusion, disunity and mistrust of these top leaders with each other. LIGHTFOOT commented that he does not share DENNIS' point of view on international affairs.

LIGHTFOOT added there is little left to talk about in the Party after these deliberations of the central bodies (National Administrative Committee and National Executive Committee). Everything you could have talked about has been brought up and discussed. Under the present situation there has to be a new leadership and the Party headquarters, including the paper, has to be moved to Chicago within the next three months because there never has been such a fight where so much disrespect

and disregard for the individuals was shown. If words could have murdered anybody, FOSTER would have murdered GATES and vice versa. LIGHTFOOT stated that the idea to move the Party to Chicago was not just his and cited ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN's comment that "as soon as we get out of New York we can do some work."

In commenting about JOHN GATES, LIGHTFOOT said that when it was voted to disband the "Daily Worker", GATES said they were just "murdering the paper". LIGHTFOOT said there was nothing else to do. The paper should have been out of business long ago. There just was not any money to keep it going.

LIGHTFOOT stated there are some people here in the District (Illinois) who are just sitting around waiting for a showdown. LIGHTFOOT wanted to remind these comrades that there is nobody here who can force their views on the Party from the point of strength (their following). Nobody can impose their views---we can only deliberate. By the way, the Chinese Party went through ten years of inner-party struggles. The atmosphere for education in the Party should be a struggle for a Marxist-Leninist education of the cadre. LIGHTFOOT's report was greeted with a dead silence. A discussion was to follow LIGHTFOOT's remarks; however, two other CP National Committee members requested time to speak and they were allowed 15 minutes each for this purpose. All other people were allowed 10 minutes for their remarks.

FRED FINE, the first National Committeeman who spoke, commented upon the resignation of JOHN GATES. FINE opened his remarks by saying that he had been called a "Gatesite". He added the position of GATES walking out of the Party is nothing more or less than the fact that he has lost faith in the Party. FINE characterized GATES as not being a violent opponent of the Party.

FINE noted that GATES had originally been called a right revisionist and it had been claimed that he has been "captured by the imperialist position" within the Party ranks and had used the "Daily Worker" to maintain and extend this imperialist position. FINE did not think that that was true. FINE appeared to be defending GATES, not wholeheartedly, but to some degree trying to show that he was not really "an enemy of the Party".

FINE had a document concerning the split in the Party (believed to be over GATES), which he passed out. He tried to have the District Committee act on this document but it was rejected. (A copy of this document could not be obtained and its contents were not made available). No discussion followed FINE's remarks.

EARL DURHAM, the second National Committeeman to speak, stated that in spite of the constructive programs of the 16th National Convention, the problem of leadership was not solved. What should have been done to solve the problem? Not that he holds with a need for new leadership as indicated by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, but he feels that there should be a mixing in of the new leadership with the old leadership which would create a sound basis for changing the present situation in the National Committee.

DURHAM then spoke about the right approach or appropriate program regarding international Communism or Socialism. DURHAM commented that right revisionism is running the Party.

Continuing, DURHAM stated that the only deep reservation he has is with regard to the Party's role in the Negro question. He noted there are many shortcomings in the Party's role in Negro mass organizations, (such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League) which are already in the fight for full citizenship for the Negro people. DURHAM added that the Party in the recent past has not forwarded an approach that could be accepted by both the Negroes and the whites, although you cannot belittle the success which has been achieved in upgrading of the Negroes.

He concluded his remarks saying, "We don't talk about it (Negro work) enough."

Following these remarks, the meeting was opened to a general discussion from the floor. The following people made the indicated comments during this discussion period:

[REDACTED]

We have to get into our minds something we don't realize. We are the cause of our own situation! The 16th National Convention did not set the prospectives on the main

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questions. Out of these main questions he would select the prospective of the fight for peace, which had not been covered by the National Convention, as the main task of the progressive movement everywhere. Up to now, the fight for peace has not been made the Party's main task. This is a serious test of the entire leadership of our Party and until we adjust our program to the fullest extent for which the fight for peace indicates, we cannot say that we will have a united Party or a united program for the masses of the American people, nor can we claim that we, as a Party, are the vanguard of the working class.

MORRIS CHINDS

The majority of the Party, in their deliberations, passed resolutions which became part of the 16th National Convention's program. JOHN GATES has not only been encouraged to go on with his disruptive techniques within the Party, but he has been assisted and aided. Let us search where revisionism is different now than at the time of the Convention. The comrades, prior to the Convention, tried to contribute some constructive analysis of their thinking and work in the Party, and these debates within the Party were carried in the form of resolutions and passed upon and brought out in programmatic form. GATES was a delegate and active in the deliberations of the 16th National Convention. Since the Convention, what has happened? The revisionists, during the Convention, protected themselves by pointing out certain clauses in the constitution wherein any member has the right to criticize anybody or group he wished. No limit was set on the amount or length of the criticism. That was revisionism to put those statements in the Convention's program without some restrictions or stipulations. Since the Convention, this privilege has been used to the hilt by GATES. He not only used it in speaking against his likes and dislikes, but has used it to disrupt the whole Party. When you come to the lower Party bodies with these criticisms the comrades say, "What, that again?"

At this time, the meeting was adjourned for lunch.

SAM KUSHNER

Comrades who are not interested in these splits or debates are doing themselves a dis-service. I know one Industrial Section organizer who, while I was discussing the situation with her, stated, "I like what I like and what I don't

like I don't have to discuss. Don't bring that mess to me" (the disagreement in the National Committee). (This was believed to be a reference to [redacted] although KUSHNER did not specifically mention her name). He considered the California document to be a document to the right. He classed it (this document) as "right revisionism".

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[redacted]

To break through this isolationism we need a more thorough educational program and a more thorough theoretical discussion on the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should try not to belabor so many things before we have discussed the problems pertaining to a given situation. He thinks those who are somewhat "right" should not just reject the 12 Party statement but should discuss it thoroughly before taking a position. He doubted that the lower Party bodies had discussed it and already the top leadership is fighting over it. As for him, he thinks that the document is correct, but he does not think that he has the right to impose it upon the whole Party as a standard. Until we develop a conscientious fight for theory, both ideological and organizational, we will not be able to resolve the necessary program that will even be accepted by the workers who are partially organized. (We would have no success among the unorganized workers).

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[redacted]

Comrades, now we talk about getting more democratic and bringing the membership into the Party's program and the fight in the National Committee. Let's be democratic and let the lower Party bodies in on what is going on, which has not been done before. Let's, from here on, not let the line of the Party decide the course of action and not let so many leaders express their own individual programs. The only thing so far as he is concerned is that the Party is split through and through with right revisionism. He related a brief history of the LOVESTONE and BROWDER eras and said now you have a JOHN GATES era. Some say that the left is the main danger but in all his experience the right revisionists have been most effective in destroying the unity of the Party. All comrades who fight for non-support of the 12 Party Document are fighting to sustain the "locked gates of revisionism".

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[redacted]

He stated he has tried Marxism and Leninism and it works. In the Debs Club we have made headway in spite of this

critical situation. We have been able to recruit two new members and in the future one more is expected.

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[REDACTED]

The main danger is revisionism in the Party. What is this with JOHN GATES that he is able to walk out and come back in whenever he wants and the National Committee pleads with him to come back? She also asked how is it that the National Committee is so hard pressed for money and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT is flying back and forth to New York so often.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated he is against a political association and in favor of a strong Marxist-Leninist Party. He spoke out against liquidating the Party. The position of the Party now is a defeat and failure of the principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

FLO HALL

She stated that in her section there is no real program for Club activity. She said we ought to have a discussion on this tendency. There is a certain looseness in the District; as an example, the Flynn Section is trying to be the leader of the District and not a part of it. That Section is working individually and invites certain people to a forum and not everyone.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] attempted to refute the statement of HALL regarding invitations to the Flynn Forum by stating that all are welcome to meetings of the Flynn Forum and it is not such a closed group. (It is to be noted that [REDACTED] did not speak immediately following HALL, however, his comments referred to her remarks and are appropriate to be inserted here).

[REDACTED]

He spoke against revisionism and asked that the Party not separate action from issues. He noted that we discuss theory without practice. He did not know if he could agree with anyone, especially SAM KUSHNER. Some of the remarks made today are stupid. You have to remember that disagreement today is quite possible. Remember that even scientists

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do not agree with each other and they follow somewhat the same formulae. He recalled reading a pamphlet "Where is Bolshevism?" The situation today is quite appropriate for that pamphlet because where is Bolshevism?---we have nothing but revisionism.

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[redacted] commented that the right is not with us anymore (GATES)---why do we keep banging our heads against the wall? He said he did not quite get the whole discussion because here you have a document from 12 Communist Parties putting forth certain principles it throws the whole Party leadership into confusion. It seems as if there is no common principle but only individual principles and until we give up these individual principles and concepts and accept the principle of Marxism-Leninism we will not have a united Party. This is not a theoretical question, it is practical, common sense.

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[redacted] noted there was a "lack of ideological" clarity and stated we should endorse having the National Committee call for a National discussion on this question.

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[redacted] stated we cannot get out of this crisis without some leadership. During the last ten years there has been a fight against dogmatism and sectarianism. He thought everybody has been acting subjectively but they should contribute objectively.

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[redacted] and [redacted] also spoke at this meeting but their comments were not noted.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT spoke again requesting that a motion be made about bringing the National Committee, National Headquarters and "The Worker" to Chicago within the next three months.

The following items were voted upon at the conclusion of this discussion:

1. The proposition by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT concerning the movement of the National Committee, National Headquarters

and the paper to Chicago within the next three months was approved, to be carried out as soon as possible.

2. The request for a motion for election of a new National leadership on the National Executive and National Administrative Committees was approved.

3. A resolution by [redacted] on the position that the Illinois District should take concerning a National Committee Document was rejected because it was felt that this resolution could not change anything.

4. It was voted to mobilize the people to support ROBERT THOMPSON's appearance on January 18, 1958, at Chicago to help "The Worker".

5. It was voted to have a committee of four draft the Illinois District's position on a special document of the National Executive Committee regarding JOHN GATES. This committee is believed to consist of [redacted] SAM KUSHNER and MORRIS CHILDS.

6. It was voted that this same committee draft a programmatic report of the Illinois District concerning the leadership of the Party. No instructions were given to this committee, however, their report must go to the District Board for discussion before it is accepted.

7. It was approved to ask the Illinois District Committee to go on record against "the mangling of this important historical document (the 12 Party Document) by the National leadership. This proposition was made by [redacted]

It is to be noted that there were eight or nine propositions voted on at this meeting. These propositions are to be printed for discussion and study by the Communist Party State Board at its next meeting. It is anticipated that copies of these propositions will be made available for the CP State Committee members also.

In analyzing this meeting, it was felt that the left held most of the control. It was noted that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, FRED FINE, LESTER DAVIS and [redacted] voted together on about all questions and they seemed unhappy about the results of the voting on the various propositions. The majority of the voting seemed to go along with those who were considered "left" in the remarks which they made at this meeting.

It was also noted that [redacted] and SAM KUSHNER commented on the fact that the Flynn Section has a document on the 12 Party Document but this document was not presented at this meeting.

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It was also mentioned at this meeting that the Flynn Forum was to hold a discussion on the 12 Party Document at this same place (English Lounge) on the same evening, January 11, 1958.

It was also announced at this meeting that [redacted] [redacted], a member of the Illinois District Committee, is very ill and has been hospitalized and cannot have visitors.

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-112422)

2/7/58

SA [redacted] (12-10)

[redacted]

SM-C

Source [redacted] (conceal identity)

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past

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Date of event 1/28/58

Date Received 1/30/58

Received by SA [redacted]

Location of info [redacted]

IN THE EVENT THIS INFORMATION IS DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE BUREAU, USE EXTREME CARE IN PARAPHRASING IT IN ORDER TO PROTECT IDENTITY OF INFORMANT. It should be noted that only the informant and GORDON were present when these conversations took place.

The following is a copy of informant's report:

January 28 - 58

Once again had the pleasure of having lunch with Harritt Gordon this afternoon - And she told me the following.

There will be a "Central Meeting" tomorrow night 1/29/58

- [redacted]
- 1-NY (100-74560) (CP USA - Funds) (19)
- ①-NY (100-80638) (CP USA - Membership and Recruiting) (19)
- 1-NY (100-26603-C40) (Bronx County CP) (12-10)
- 1-NY (100-112422) [redacted] (12-10)

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MLM:MMY
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100-80638-1382

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FEB 7 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	
A. V. Walters	

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NY 100-112422

(just where I don't know) and she will talk to all the leaders of the various districts about me - She told me that there is nothing to worry about - that I will no doubt be accepted - Harritt said that she would try to get me into her group. - The dues to the party is approx \$2.50 per month.

I'll have the answer when I return from my trip-

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) 2/10/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Care must be utilized in handling and reporting following information, since the very nature of this information tends to disclose the identity of a highly placed and sensitive informant.

The following is a report of the highlights and most important statements made at the meeting of the National Administrative Committee (NAC), CP, USA held in New York City on 1/22/58, as reported by NY 2179-S*. This informant advised that SID STEIN on 1/21/58 said there would be an enlarged NAC meeting held at CP Headquarters starting at 4:00 PM on 1/22/58. STEIN advised that the following individuals were to be invited to attend and the discussion would pertain to the questions raised by JOHN GATES in his articles (apparently in "The New York Post"). The invitees were [redacted] SI GERSON, JACK STACHEL, and HERB APTHEKER.

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- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
 - 1 - 100-3-104 (CP, USA - Counter-Intelligence Program)
- 1 - Albany (100-) (CPUSA - Org) (RM)
- 1 - Buffalo (100-) (CPUSA - Org) (RM)
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This informant advised that the NAC meeting started at approximately 4:10 PM, 1/22/58, and the following people were believed by informant to be in attendance:

STACHEL, GERSON, STEIN, ARNOLD JOHNSON, HERB APTHEKER, BEN DAVIS, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and EUGENE DENNIS.

The meeting opened with the proposal that the next National Executive Committee meeting be held 2/14/58, and the National Committee Meeting be held February 15 and 16, 1958.

EUGENE DENNIS proposed that the meeting be held in New York, and that each delegate pay his own fare in the amount of \$75. Informant reported that an individual whose identity was unknown to him, remarked, "\$75 admission in other words". SID STEIN stated that the California delegates would have to pay approximately \$300 each. The informant reported that the proposal was carried.

EUGENE DENNIS chaired the meeting and said that the purpose was to discuss the ideas and the position of JOHN GATES. DENNIS called upon JACK STACHEL to begin the discussion.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL opened his remarks by saying that he had read GATES' articles in "The Post" and that he was not aware of their reaction in the Party. He recommended emergency action in order "to get the Party on the road up".

He stated that he attended the conference of the Socialist Forum and the main topic there was "our ideas verses their ideas". He commented that

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they could not ignore the business of GATES' resignation, but should find the position of GATES, what it represents, and its aims. He stated that how they go about doing it is all important. He said that it took JOHNNY GATES a long time to get to his position, and said that he was subject to all sorts of moods and sometimes he went to the "left".

STACHEL said that he did not believe that GATES had a clear position; said he was confused and he is trying to find something. He stated GATES' position in the party can only be pieced together; he said in his opinion it is important for the party to give some clarification on the question of the United Party Program. He said that was something for the immediate future. STACHEL remarked that we are fighting for a Communist Party and therefore must clarify what we mean by a "united Party front".

Continuing, STACHEL stated that while (JOE) CLARK never had room "in our party", he has room in a "United Party of Socialism" and then added that he believes that this goes for JOHN GATES as well. STACHEL stated that they must put the question of United Party of Socialism in the proper perspective, and said that they have no common ground with GATES.

STACHEL said that the essence of (JOE) CLARK's position, although CLARK squirmed from time to time, was the position of a world Socialist movement. He said that one day [redacted] asked JOHN GATES to write an article on the Fortieth Anniversary (Russian Revolution) but that GATES said he could not write that kind of an article. STACHEL stated that he, STACHEL, jumped up and said to GATES, do you mean to tell me that you, the editor in chief of the only English Marxist paper in the Western Hemisphere,

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cannot write an article on the Fortieth Anniversary.

STACHEL said that JOHN GATES proposed an editorial two days after the summit conference to criticize the Soviet Union on why it refused to accept the American proposals. The reason was, the United States was making proposals that were in the direction of peace and the Soviet Union, for some reason, was an obstacle on the way to the summit.

STACHEL parenthetically remarked, now you analyze that. This came up on a number of occasions.

Unidentified Male

An individual whose identity was not known to the informant then spoke and read a statement by ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN, who was unable to remain for the meeting. This individual read BITTLEMAN's statement and in effect said that the time has come for the party leadership to make an honest statement to the membership. The party must tell the membership that the party crisis is deepening instead of getting better.

He said that when a man who has been with us for 27 years and has done as much as he has to help build the party, when a man with his record suddenly decides to abandon the party, "something is the matter not only with him but also with us".

BITTLEMAN's statement said that the party has deep and serious disagreements which we have been unable so far to solve, and that we must appeal to the party membership to strengthen the party and not to give up. He said that we have to work as hard

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as we can to clarify our position.

Individual Believed to be SI GERSON

An individual believed by informant to be SI GERSON, spoke and said that he was going to tangle "with my good friend BEN DAVIS". GERSON then related that a GATES supporter had spoken to him after his TV appearance (of Gates) and remarked that if he had to choose between GATES and (WILL) WEINSTONE, he would choose neither.

Remarks of SID STEIN

Informant reported that SID STEIN then spoke and said that the situation is that they failed to boldly and effectively carry out the convention directions on a whole number of questions; one section of the party was going further to the left and the other section was going further to the right, and as a result, the party is being engulfed leaving a situation where the party rejects the anti-ideas which have been resurrected the past couple of months by comrades like (WILL) WEINSTONE, MANNY BLUM and others.

STEIN said that we have specific needs in our country. We do not have a bold idea of the position of the party. He said that no matter how you argue against GATES' ideas, it will not be effective in building and unifying the party. He said it can and will be effective in unifying a section of the party and drive another section away.

He said that JACK (STACHEL) speaks about Hungary, he speaks about a Daily Worker editorial, but not about the position of the National Committee.

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JACK says we have not fought hard enough against the revisionist attitudes of GATES and CLARK. I think that we have not fought hard enough against the leftest danger in the party that took us away from the convention the day after the convention was over. Therefore, we gave encouragement to the kind of position that is now engulfing our party. The international movement faces a very complicated situation.

STEIN said that he firmly believed a platform must be adopted to suit American reality and concluded by saying that he certainly does not agree with JOHN GATES.

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON or HERB APTHEKER

Informant advised that ARNOLD JOHNSON or HERB APTHEKER was the next speaker, but he was not in a position to determine the speaker's identity. According to the informant this individual stressed the necessity for mass work. He said he had heard GATES speak the other night and could not figure out who GATES was trying to impress.

This individual felt that they should all reexamine as to whether an emphasis given by the 16th Convention constantly repeats independence from the Soviet Union and independence from the Socialist movement. This individual said that the American workers are going to talk about Socialism based on the pragmatic approach, mainly, how is it working out? He said then you've got to talk about the Soviet Union's Socialist work.

This individual said he wanted to warn against placing emphasis on independence from the Soviet Union

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to the extent that they can't even discuss it. He said there should be an approach to their convention which places it within the world movement and not separated from it. This individual concluded by referring to JOHN GATES' resignation, saying that they can't just brush it aside, but the resignation must be hit hard.

Unidentified Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant then spoke, remarking that they should not try to justify GATES' leaving (the Party). He said that when CLARK left there was an editorial justifying his leaving. The Anti Marxist ideals which GATES now avows were present three weeks ago when he was a party leader. He then quoted GATES as saying that "the essence of Marxism is change".

This individual said this view was altogether wrong. He said in his discussions with comrades all over, he noted a great deal of cynicism, despair, and know-nothingism. He said there was a tremendous lack of theoretical comprehension; and that the method of work within the party has been intolerable. The rank and file want a change in that regard-a real fraternal feeling, comradeship-and a sense of the possibility of participation-not just being told what to do.

This individual then mentioned an article by JOHN GATES written in 1951, in which GATES admitted he was weak in theory. He said paralysis in the party shouldn't be surprising when a leader like GATES was anti Marxist.

This individual urged a mass struggle approach in the Negro area, the farm area, and the working class area. He urged fundamental understanding

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of the nature of American imperialism which was absent in (JOE) CLARK and (JOHN) GATES.

This individual then criticized an editorial of January 1, 1958, in the "Daily Worker" which gave credit to WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST for proposing a ban on A bombs and also that BULGANIN was cool to the proposal.

This individual then said many people are waiting to be asked if they are in the party. In Upstate New York, those who were in charge left the Party before GATES and before they left they destroyed what they had. To this day, we can't even find out who was in the Party. We don't even know their names. I was just in Buffalo. That's the situation there. 1100 people disappeared. I'm not sure at all that there are 7,000 members. (It was informant's opinion that this individual is speaking of reregistration in New York State, including Upstate and Buffalo area, wherein there are 1100 rank and file members which the Party has no way of contacting and re registering because they have dropped out of Party work).

Continuing, this individual stated that in his area in Brooklyn, they have just re registered 50 people and a large number of those people whom he had seen personally said "where have you been? Where do you meet?"

He said he agreed with SID (STEIN), SI (GERSON), and JACK (STACHEL) that if they permit a leftist fanaticism to capitalize on this it will be a serious danger which can lead to losses (in Party membership). In concluding, this individual stated that he had received a piece (article) from

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PETE (PETTIS PERRY) in California, which pointed out that people out there want Party work to do.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS then spoke and said that the Party must consider GATES' ideas, his methods, the damage he did to the Party. He said that lessons can be learned from these mistakes in galvanizing and uniting the Party. He said that SID STEIN made no reference to the main purpose of the Party which is to conduct mass struggles, to fight for a vanguard role, to achieve and fulfill that role in American life.

DAVIS said that they have to decide whether they want a Party and if they do, to fight for it, regardless of whether GATES resigns or what happens. He said he considers SID STEIN's remarks "as part of the serious legacy which GATES has left with us because I considered SID's remarks as pretty much of a justification of GATES." He said he had very sharp differences on many questions with STEIN and it was obvious STEIN has differences with him. DAVIS said it's no longer just a struggle against DAVIS and FOSTER, it's DENNIS and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, and CARL WINTER, and JIM JACKSON, and EARL DURHAM and many more.

DAVIS, speaking sarcastically, said that the essence of this is that we have only one danger and that is DAVIS and FOSTER or the sectarian wing or the dogmatism wing. He said that to deny there is no revisionist danger, no danger of opportunism is in itself an unLeninist position.

He said he considered SID's remarks very revealing and very helpful to the Party-not from the point of view of SID's criticism of me. There is a group in the Party in New York that rejects the Party Convention.

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This group says the whole document is revision, that refuses to support the "Daily Worker", that has factional discipline of it's own. DAVIS said these Comrades are very honest Comrades, they are not a real danger to the Party, although they run a political strike against the "Daily Worker", although they slander the Convention, although they have a well known open faction.

DAVIS said SID does not take issue with these, SID says that what I'm doing, what FOSTER is doing, is using these Comrades as a shield and that these Comrades are really very nice and their line is such that they openly state it. In my report at the State Committee meeting, I definitely by name indicted these Comrades, called upon them to disband their faction, criticized their attitude toward the "Daily Worker" and said we would not fight revisionism or GATES' wrong ideas, to turn our party over to such ideas and methods. I named them by name, [redacted] and [redacted], whom SID made some kind of an open bid to find some sort of a connection with them or some sort of approbation of them.

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I think that this is a malicious idea, that there is no right danger, that there is no revisionist danger and that if you just fight sectarianism and dogmatism, the Party has nothing to worry about. This despite the fact that we've had STAROBIN, FAST, CLARK, GATES, and I don't know how many more and despite the fact that many of our good Comrades left the Party because they associated themselves with GATES and still there! no right wing, no revisionist danger.

My judgment is that insofar as the Convention is concerned, there are some comrades, among them SID. (STEIN) who refuse to accept any of the injunctions of the convention against revisionism. I think the Convention does provide

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the basis for our Party going forward but I would be less than candid if I did not say that the main imperfection, main ambiguities in the main resolution adopted by the Convention which I am sure that another Convention under calmer, more sober times will correct and strengthen. There's just one thing bigger than the Convention, and that is the Party itself.

There is too much tendency to take the words 16th Convention and "make a dogma out of them." I think we must never forget that the Convention is for the purpose of advancing the role of the party, teaching it to be more creative and unique in the application of its science here in America, at the same time keeping us in contact with certain basic universal laws of Marxism which apply to all countries.

I am sure that the next Convention will give even better tools. I think that SID in particular should be a little more critical of JOHNNY GATES. He said that GATES had done many good things in the Party as had many others who have left the Party during its history, but JOHNNY, in my opinion, used certain methods in our Party of blackmail, of intimidation, of terror, and that JOHNNY induced or helped political corruption in our Party. We are having to deal with this in the New York District, which we're confronted with in the "Daily Worker" which we have to be honest about and tell our Comrades about. We must draw open lessons from what JOHNNY GATES has done.

This question of the freedom of discussion in the hands of JOHNNY GATES became a mockery. I never heard anybody in the history of our Party that got away with what JOHNNY GATES did. I never heard a man insult the National Committee, meeting after meeting,

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I never heard a man issue open statements to the Capitalist press saying that the whole National leadership of the Party was nothing but a bunch of dupes that didn't understand what his ideas were. I never heard such freedom of discussion. I never knew a man to take the "Daily Worker" and deliberately as to editorials, follow a policy on a number of questions which we knew our Party rejected. What JOHNNY wanted to do is convert our Party into a debating society and I'm sorry to say, with all my good opinion of SID, that SID's views sound like he wants this Party to become a debating society.

A Party program must be written but how can you just talk abstractly about a Party program as to what's taking place in America today-on the Negro question, on the Peace question- and the inspiration and the lift which the American people have gotten from the achievements of the Soviet Union and China and other countries.

We must give credit to Comrades who have tried to bring this question of revisionism before the Party, whether it's FOSTER or others. Whatever disagreements I may have with BILL (FOSTER) I must say that BILL fought very splendidly to get our party to take a proper recognition of the whole question of the right danger, opportunists, and revisionists. We see how that worked out concretely.

Insofar as freedom of discussion is concerned don't forget, SID, that I worked in the National Committee prior to the convention in a very decided minority. I have nothing in common with these methods of blackmail which JOHNNY GATES used.

We made a very serious mistake on (JOE) CLARK.

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The Comrades will recall I did not vote at the National Administrative Committee statement on CLARK. I would have voted for him but for one thing, mainly the NAC refused to distinguish its own position from JOHNNY GATES. This added more confusion to the Party.

If we don't take advantage of GATES' wrong ideas, his leaving the Party, to point out to the Party concretely what we mean by revisionism, just as we've made some efforts to point out what we mean by dogmatism, the Party will go on, but this leadership is not going to have much of a say.

The resignation of JOHNNY GATES has infused our Party with aspirit in New York. GEORGE CHARNEY and myself and other State leaders have been worried as to whether or not we could raise \$10,000 in the fund drive on the basis of three months. We have raised \$20,000 almost in two weeks. Are we going to label that as a bunch of sectarianism or dogmatism? No! It's because our party feels at last with the resignation of GATES the conditions are pat for solidifying our Party, getting it into action, and on certain basic principals.

GATES left (the Party) because he has no base in this party. He would have stayed and fought right on but he's got no base in the Communist Party. He has no base in the Communist movement anywhere in the world.

GATES lied when he said he was not critical toward the Soviet Union. If he isn't anti Soviet there isn't a cow in Texas. GATES never was honest with us. He used methods of complicity.

Whatever disagreements JACK STACHEL and I have, one thing he said I consider very important, that is

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it is not enough just to say revisionism now, revisionism is quite different today from what it was several years ago. Quite different, SID, from your definition of revisionism that you read at the State Committee.

The second thing GATES did which is new, is his open collaboration with the capitalist Press. When GATES spilled this story- and I always will believe it was GATES that spilled that story, to the New York Post about the motion that I made on his removal- open collaboration with the Capitalist Press.

These are the new facts of revisionism which we have to bring to our Party's mind. Some of the Comrades ought to be a little more self critical about GATES. It isn't as though GATES burst upon our party without anybody warning our Party about what GATES was doing. I have often said about SI (GERSON) despite our differences, SI has a real fundamental Party consciousness and I feel that SI and I will end up more or less unanimous in a fundamental correct position.

DAVIS then made a plea for Comradship and an exchange of ideas, saying that he didn't go for this purge thing, and I don't know why comrades keep placing "this baby at my door".

DAVIS said he was ^{for} getting the Party together around concrete issues and said that the New York State Committee had some very good decisions on this, such as helping the Worker, lifting the morale of the Party, rehabilitating the Party, carrying through an effective registration of the Party. He said that they had a very good woman Comrade in our State Board whom he has differences with, but said she loves the Party, Comrade [redacted] from shoes (industrial). Continuing, DAVIS

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said that such Comrades have a place in the Party and in the Party leadership.

He concluded by saying that he hopes the results of this meeting will be placed before the National Committee and that they will draw lessons from it and tell the Comrades what we mean by dogmatism and revisionism.

Remarks of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN then spoke and said that she would read an article she had prepared on JOHNNY GATES and remarked that there was one other subject that she would like to develop more fully, and that is the attitude JOHNNY took at the NEC meeting on the trials. (Smith Act).

You remember he said it was because of such language in our Constitution that we got five year sentences. That's a very interesting remark and could bear a good deal of analysis as to whether or not we were sentenced to prison because of language. What were the factors that contributed to our prosecution and to our imprisonment? This is too long a subject for me to undertake now.

According to the informant, FLYNN then proceeded to read an article which she apparently had written, saying that last Saturday night a group of about 20 workers and their wives gathered in a home in Eastern Pennsylvania. She said it was really Fairless Hill which is a company town of the Fairless Plant, but did not want to mention the exact location.

She said this group included two one time Section organizers of the Communist Party, two unemployed

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anthracite coal miners, several non party sympathizers.

FLYNN's article continued to the effect that the above mentioned group watched the interview of JOHNNY GATES by MINE WALLACE on T.V. FLYNN criticized GATES' demeanor and contrasted his frightened attitude with the table pounding, aggressive manner he had shown in his last days in the Party. She stressed the contemptuous attitude WALLACE took toward GATES and said a self respecting man would have walked out.

FLYNN then pointed out that WALLACE made a fool of GATES and said it was immoral of GATES to continue as editor of the "Daily Worker" and leader in the Party when he no longer believed in the Party. She said GATES must have made arrangements for the Wallace show and his series of articles in the "New York Post" before his resignation.

FLYNN said that the group turned off the T.V. set and continued their meeting. They discussed the Mc Carran Act cases and the problem of the workers in the locality, and although many were not employed, they raised over \$30.00 for the paper.

They said very little about GATES. It was like something painful and indecent and the less said the better.

FLYNN mentioned, concerning GATES, that the words of an old Irish ballad kept running through her mind. "You haven't an arm and you haven't a leg, you're an Irish-chicken mistake, you'll have to be put in a bowl to bake, Oh JOHN I hardly knew you".

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS then spoke and said it would be a mistake to consider the GATES incident as merely a by product of a crisis in the Party. That would be failing to note a new phase in the Party's internal struggle. He said there has been a healthy reaction to the GATES incident in the Party in that Comrades want to protect and defend the Party and to fight for the Party and its principals.

DENNIS said it must be made clear to everyone both inside and outside the Party, that GATES was a revisionist—a classical example of a revisionist. DENNIS said that after STALIN's death and the removal of MALENKOV, GATES' attitude was that this was merely a struggle for power. DENNIS said he and GATES had sharp debates on this.

He said he and GATES had diametrically opposite estimates of the Coup d' etat in East Berlin and that there were several days when they were not on speaking terms.

DENNIS said that GATES was way out in left field on a host of things and that when BOB (THOMPSON) came down (to Atlanta prison?) and informed them of the gist of the resolution in December, 1952, and up to 1954, JOHN was way to the left (of me and BOB).

DENNIS then mentioned GATES' advocacy of the Association at the Convention. He said there was always the recurrent theme of GATES saying the Party was through, and then something would happen and he (GATES) would give the Party another chance. DENNIS said GATES was actually out to transform the Party. GATES chose to resign when he did not merely because of

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"Daily
the suspension of the /worker" but because he knew
he could no longer fight effectively within the Party
for his basic position with any prospect of winning.

DENNIS noted that when (JOL) STAROBIN,
(JOHNNY) STUEBEN, (HOWARD) FAST, and (JOE) CLARK
resigned, GATES took no issue with their non Marxist
and anti Marxist views. DENNIS said that the
revisionist problems in Communist Parties all over the
world were caused by the Crisis in Hungary and in
Poland.

DENNIS said that something (article) was
sent out by the Central Committee of the Hungarian
Party, but GATES refused to publish it because he said
the KADAR regime was a puppet regime and was a military
dictatorship.

DENNIS concluded by saying that the Party
must overcome their isolation and urged Party unity.

The meeting adjourned at 7:30 PM.

2/11/58

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C I N A L

On 2/10/58 [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided a written report by mail to SA [redacted] of a CPEPD District Conference on Negro work held 2/7/58 at 2450 North 31st Street, Philadelphia.

During this conference, [redacted] CPEPD District Committee member, gave a report that had been prepared by the CPEPD District Organization - Education Commission and finalized by THOMAS NABRIED, CPEPD District Treasurer. This report contained information that a total CPEPD registration of 250 was expected in 1958. [redacted] stated there were currently 30 Negro members of the CP with seven being members of the District Committee, two being members of the District Administrative Committee and three holding Section leadership positions.

HENNRICH

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2/11/58

SA [redacted]

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Identity of Source [redacted] was furnished
 following info in past (concl.)
 Date of Activity 1/27/58
 Date Received 2/5/58
 Received by SA [redacted]
 Original located [redacted]

Source also must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

By report dated 1/27/58, [redacted] furnished information regarding the CP registration computer as of 1/20/58.

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A copy of informant's report follows:

[redacted]

- 1 - NY 100-10073 (GENERAL INVEST)(49-2)
- 1 - NY 100-21003-043 (CP, STATE)(712-10)
- 1 - NY 100-21003-042 (CP, MEMBERSHIP)(712-10)
- 1 - NY 100-21003-040 (CP, YOUNG)(712-10)
- 1 - NY 100-21003-041 (CP, WOMEN)(712-10)
- 1 - NY 100-30515 (CP, MEMBERSHIP)(25-2)
- 1 - NY 100-31013 (COMMUNAL-TRADE UNION)(7-1)
- 1 - NY 100-21003 (100-)

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100-80638-1385

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 FEB 11 1958
 FBI - NEW YORK

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#17

NY 100-25003

SECRET

Communist Party U.S.A.

Jan. 27, 1950

New York

According to George Latta, Organizational Secretary of the New York State Communist Party, the registration campaign of the C.P. in the New York area shows the following figures of registered party members as of Jan. 20th, 1950:

Albany - registered 114; expect to register 200.
1950 registration up 1,700.

Baltimore - registered 114; expect to register 200.
1950 registration up 1,000.

Buffalo - registered 170; expect to register 400.
1950 registration up 1,000.

Chester - registered 114; expect to register 200-400.
1950 registration up 1,000.

The Industrial region registered 500; expect to register 1,000.
1950 registration up 2,500.

Latta said that the N.Y. State Court, Grand Jury, is going to set up a registration commission and that registration commission will be set up in each county. These registration commissions will watch and direct the registration campaign of the CP. These commissions will also try to register those who refuse to register and will try to register all those who belong to the left in the C.P. since the 1950 campaign of the C.P. is on.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC; NEW YORK (100-80638)

DATE: 2/13/58

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (19)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS-Cb6
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CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING
AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE
VERY NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE
IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 2/6/58, NY 2179-S* advised that on above date, [REDACTED] had a conference in his office at CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., NYC, with an individual whose identity was unknown to the informant. Informant reported that the conversation pertained to Party finances and the registration drive as a means of income. [REDACTED] stated that the average dues payment was \$1.25 (per month?) and he speculated that the Party registration nationally would be approximately 6500.

According to informant, [REDACTED] broke ^{down} this figure roughly as 3,000 in NY; 500 in Chicago; 1,000 from all of California; and ~~25,000~~ ²⁵⁰⁰ from the rest of the country.

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- 1 - New York (100-13923) ([REDACTED]) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-74560) (CP, USA - FUNDS) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-80641) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-80638)

HCO:hd
(4)

100-80638-1386

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 12 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-18953)

DATE: 2-10-58

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b7D

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

On January 20, 1958, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA [redacted] of a meeting of the State Committee, Illinois District, Communist Party, USA (CP), held on January 11, 1958, at the Lawson Y.M.C.A., 30 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. This information was reduced to a written report and subsequently signed by the informant as being correct. The written report is located in [redacted]

- ② - New York (RM)
 - ① - 100-80638 (CP, USA; Membership)
 - 1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization)
- 1 - Detroit (RM)
 - 100-13420 (CARL WINTER)
- 39 - Chicago

- 1 - 100-19743 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-644 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-22435 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-14098 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
- 1 - 100-3303 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-18080 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-24020 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-21073 (LESTER DAVIS)
- 1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)
- 1 - 100-3301 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-18001 (FRED FINE)
- 1 - 100-4031 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-12459 (FLORA HALL)
- 1 - 100-21526 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-2515 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-2248 (SAM KUSHNER)
- 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 1 - 100-3720 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-13332 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-9948 [redacted]

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100-80638-1387

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FEB 13 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters

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FBI - CHICAGO
FEB 10 1958

Copies continued on ii

CG 100-18953

1 - 100-16711
1 - 100-22078
1 - 100-19337
1 - 100-18457
1 - 100-24947
1 - 100-20289
1 - 100-2749
1 - 100-16427
1 - 100-17965 (CP, USA, Illinois District, Brief)
1 - 100-19491 (CP, USA, Illinois District, Domestic
Administrative Issues)
1 - 100-18338 (CP, USA, Illinois District, Education)
1 - 100-18963 (CP, USA, Illinois District, Factionalism)
1 - 100-18961 (CP, USA, Illinois District, International
Relations)
1 - 100-19431 (CP, USA, Illinois District, Strategy
in Industry)
1 - 100-18956 (CP, USA, Illinois District, Negro Question)
1 - 100-8261 (COMINFIL, NAACP)

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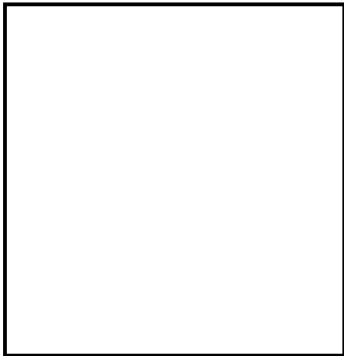
BSP:LMA
(42)

January 20, 1958

On January 11, 1958, a meeting of the State Committee of the Illinois District, Communist Party (CP) was held at the Lawson Y.M.C.A., 30 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

In Attendance

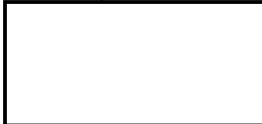
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
SAM KUSHNER
MORRIS CHILDS



LESTER DAVIS



FLO HALL



FRED FINE



EARL DURHAM



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Agenda

Communist Party, USA

LIGHTFOOT gave a report in which he related that the current CP leadership has failed to carry out the decisions made by the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA. He stated that this failure is due to the arguing and differences of opinion which presently exist between the National leadership of the CP. As a result of these differences of opinion, the CP has failed to lead in the latest developments nationally and internationally. The CP in the United States is not pushing for the summit meeting which KHRUSHCHEV has proposed with eight other countries.

President EISENHOWER's latest message to Congress compares second best to the latest speeches delivered by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV.

The CP in the United States is not fighting the government hard enough relative to the government's latest efforts to restrict the freedom which the unions presently possess.

The Negro liberation movement has been extremely neglected by the CP of late. The CP has been playing a very

minor role in some of the latest liberation movements, such as the Washington Pilgrimage. The reason the CP has not played more of an important role in such affairs is because the CP spends too much time discussing the strife which exists within the ranks of the Party.

The lack of support from the CP and union members is partly the reason that brought about WILLOUGHBY ABNER's defeat as leader of the NAACP in this area.

At the present time there are four and one half million unemployed people in the United States. This figure is estimated to reach seven million by the middle of June, 1958. The CP should wage a campaign through unions and other organizations to have these groups fight for the needs of the unemployed people. Labor unions should arrange meetings with these unemployed people in order to learn their needs. These same union people should work to establish community organizations for the purpose of providing assistance to the unemployed.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the decisions of the U. S. courts in cases of CLINTON JENCKS, MAURICE TRAVIS and those in California convicted under the Smith Act have greatly helped the CP in the United States.

The CP has not yet become legal in mass organizations. LIGHTFOOT encouraged that all CP Sections and Clubs find ways and means of promoting the work which is performed by the various mass organizations. This will assist to eliminate a large number of resignations and defections which the CP has been experiencing in membership and help to start the membership figure to rise. The CP still maintains their membership figure is about 10,000, but current registration of the CP only indicates a membership of approximately 7,000.

LIGHTFOOT stated he was not waging a campaign against the decisions of the 16th National Convention of the CP, but that he was pointing out that the objectives which the 16th National Convention decided on are not being attained.

LIGHTFOOT next discussed the declaration of the 12 CP's. He stated that members of the National Administrative Committee (NAC) and members of the National Executive Committee (NEC) were at first in bitter disagreement as to whether or not this declaration should be endorsed by the CP, USA. After many arguments and considerable debate, both of these committees voted to endorse the declaration as a "universal truth".

LIGHTFOOT stated that the NEC discussed the problem of continuing publication of the "Daily Worker". After completely surveying the situation, indications were that all funds were depleted and it was utterly impossible to continue to publish the "Daily Worker". The "Daily Worker" was in debt to the extent of \$61,000 when publishing discontinued. Since discontinuing the "Daily Worker", it has been a real struggle to keep adequate funds available for the purpose of publishing "The Worker".

During this discussion, JOHN GATES stated that the "Daily Worker" was murdered. In the final vote, JOHN GATES was the only individual who was opposed to discontinuing the "Daily Worker". At the conclusion of the vote, JOHN GATES offered his resignation as editor of the "Daily Worker" and the NEC accepted his resignation.

At the NEC meeting SID STEIN and EUGENE DENNIS both gave reports on accomplishments of the CP since the 16th National Convention. These reports were in complete opposition to each other. After a lengthy and heated argument, it was agreed by the NEC that the contents of each report should be published and circulated among the CP members.

A sub-committee of the NEC consisting of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, CARL WINTER, EUGENE DENNIS and SID STEIN was established to review these two reports and draw up a report from the contents in order that the NEC will be able to further discuss the topic.

LIGHTFOOT was opposed to the adoption of the declaration of the 12 CP's. He proposed that the National Committee of the CP select an entirely new NEC. He based this proposal on the fact that every time someone from the NEC proposed a plan, two other members of the Committee would be opposed to the plan. LIGHTFOOT stated that the current Committee lacked unity. He pointed out that to remove only some of the members of the NEC would be unsatisfactory because those members who are not removed would have a tendency to dominate the action of the NEC.

The following comments were made:

FRED FINE

FINE stated that he was in full agreement with LIGHTFOOT except that he did not feel LIGHTFOOT touched enough on the GATES case. He stated that LIGHTFOOT should have dealt

more with the facts concerning GATES and pointed out that it had gotten to the point where it was practically impossible to keep GATES in the CP because of his anti-Soviet attitude. GATES has become a spokesman for Gatesism. The 16th National Convention decisions were opposed by GATES. FINE stated that he did not feel that GATES would be detrimental to the CP as he is a Socialist-minded person and would not "red bait" against the CP.

FINE stated that in his opinion there was more controversy on various issues by the members of the NAC than by the members of the NEC. He stated that it is his feeling that the NAC should be made up of a completely new group of members, as well as the NEC.

EARL DURHAM

DURHAM stated that he was in agreement with FINE and LIGHTFOOT with the exception he was not in favor of changing the membership of either the NAC or the NEC. He stated that the main problem which the 16th National Convention failed to deal with was one pertaining to fresh leadership. He stated that by this he means that both the NEC and the NAC should have rank and file people direct from the shops as members, but all members on both committees are full time Party people.

[redacted] was opposed to both reports by LIGHTFOOT and FINE and did not support what DURHAM said. He stated that the main trouble at the present time is that there are too many revisionists serving on both committees. He stated that he feels the people serving on both of these committees should study the declaration of the 12 CP's thoroughly. In his opinion, there is no need to remove any of the leadership or to force any of the leadership out of the CP, but instead efforts should be made to straighten these people out and if this can not be accomplished then resignations should be requested.

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[redacted] felt that the entire National Committee is not following the lines of Marxist-Leninist theory. What is needed is a fight for Party unity. [redacted] stated that errors which are made by the top leadership are used as wedges by other people in the leadership causing splits in the CP, USA.

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He is not of the opinion that the speakers have dealt with the problem which is the number one problem of the world today, that being "Peace". In his opinion, the State Committee must, as soon as possible, have a discussion on this subject. [] stated that he proposed that this discussion be held at the next State Committee meeting.

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MORRIS CHILDS

CHILDS was of the opinion that the 16th National Convention did not begin to solve the problems facing the CP today. He stated that this convention did solve many problems, and policies which they agreed on at the convention would solve many of the remaining problems of the Party if the members would carry out the decisions which were reached at this convention and stop arguing. One big problem which the 16th National Convention did not solve was the one involving JOHN GATES and the fact that he was not put in his place. If this had been done, the problem which the Party was faced with today would never have cropped up. As a result of the present problems, some trade union press publications foresee a split in the CP and, needless to say, this must be avoided by complete unity throughout the Party.

SAM KUSHNER

KUSHNER was critical of the reports given by LIGHTFOOT and FINE. KUSHNER stated that he, himself, is left of center. He feels that the Party must work for unity and work against name calling. Regardless of the stand which a person takes on a certain issue, the entire membership must find "common denominators" in order that by working together they can bring about Socialism as their final goal. KUSHNER stated that if the arguing continues as it has in the past among the leadership of the Party, it will finally destroy the CP, USA. KUSHNER stated that he is not ready to "read out" any member of the CP at the present time.

FLO HALL

HALL expressed that her position was left of center. She feels the same as SAM KUSHNER. She stated that the greatest problem confronting the leadership of the CP today is facing the current problem which exists nationally. She stated that in her opinion it is not a question of changing the leadership at this time, but rather a question of the leadership changing

the policy so that it will benefit the CP. This policy should be one of building a mass CP in the United States.

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[redacted] stated that he was in complete agreement with HALL. He stated that the CP must maintain its current membership and make every attempt to increase this membership. He pointed out that the more fighting which exists among the leadership the more dissention there will be among the rank and file members of the CP.

[redacted] stated that he felt it was time that the CP membership participate in an educational program. He stated that the seminars which had been scheduled by the State Committee some time ago were not successful. [redacted] recommended that three discussions be held in the near future for all Party people and these discussions should be arranged by the State Committee. The discussions should cover the following topics:

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1. Economic conditions in the United States and labor's role.
2. Welfare state.
3. Declaration of the 12 CP's.

[redacted] stated that in his opinion the first two meetings should be broad, city-wide meetings. He felt that these should not be called under the name of the CP but some other organization. He stated that he felt these two could be attended by people other than Party members. The third discussion should be called by the two or three sections, and these sections should have joint discussions on this matter.

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[redacted] seconded this motion, which was carried by a vote. [redacted] made a motion that [redacted] SAM KUSHNER and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT be placed on a sub-committee to make arrangements for these city-wide discussions. This motion was carried.

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT stated that he accepted the criticism which had been leveled against him. He thinks it is necessary

to campaign to save the CP. He stated that he would work exceptionally hard on the sub-committee from the NEC and strive to build unity within the CP. LIGHTFOOT stated that he was appreciative of the fact that there was no split within the ranks of the Party membership in the Chicago area.

LIGHTFOOT stated that [redacted] is almost a left sectariat but will still work with the State Committee. He stated that in his opinion FLO HALL and [redacted] play the role of conciliators and that more people should put themselves in this category to help the situation. LIGHTFOOT stated that he does not desire to see any member thrown out of the ranks of the CP at this time.

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Motions Made

1. Criticize the NEC for its outlook on the resolution of the 12 Communist Parties. Motion carried.
2. Endorse the report presented by LIGHTFOOT with the exception of his proposal to establish a completely new NEC. Motion carried.
3. Dismiss the proposal of establishing a completely new NAC. Motion carried.
4. Establish a sub-committee whose purpose would be to write a statement reflecting suggestions from the Illinois CP on how problems in the CP could be solved, which statement is to be submitted to the National Committee. This motion carried.

The following people were nominated to serve on this sub-committee: [redacted], SAM KUSHNER, [redacted], MORRIS CHILDS and [redacted]

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It was pointed out that those who could accept this nomination would serve on the Committee.

The next State Committee meeting scheduled to be held January 26, 1958.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) DATE: 2/11/58
FROM : SA [redacted] #12-10
SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS-C

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)
Date of Activity 1/9/58
Date Received 1/27/58
Received by SA [redacted]
Original located [redacted]

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Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

A copy of informant's report follows:

- [redacted] (PERSONAL ATTENTION) (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1931 (HUNTS POINT-TREMONT BLVD. SEC. BRONX COUNTY CP) (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-131482 (HARRY MELOFF CENTER) (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-62881 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-128796 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-123460 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-112292 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-125124 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-74453 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-126967 [redacted] LNU) (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-76315 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-72253 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER) (#7)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1953 (CULTURAL CLUB, HUNTS POINT TREMONT BLVD. SEC., BRONX COUNTY CP) (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-81658 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-19045 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (#19)
- ① - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA DIST #2, MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-84756 [redacted] LNU-believed to be [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-85233 [redacted] LNU-believed to be [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-121626 (ROSE LNU, age 53, 15 yrs. in CP, housewife, member Hunts Point-Tremont-Bldv. Sec., Bronx CP)
- 1 - NY 100-119761 (HYMAN LNU, age 65, 20 yrs. in CP, carpenter, member Hunts Point-Tremont Bldv. Sec., Bronx CP)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C40

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RO:MIM
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R.C.

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100-80638-1388

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FEB 13 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J.V. Walker

NY 100-26603-040

Date of report Jan. 15, 1958

At the special Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard section membership meeting, held at the Harry Meloff Center, on E. 180th St. and Mohegan Ave. on Thursday night Jan. 9, the following people were present, Louise Sanchez, Nat Richman, Celia Vosk, Ann Blittman, Reah Bagdad, Ben Chasnaw, Oscar, Annie Mattison, Mitzie Bogursky, Shelton Maddox.

The meeting did not start until after nine o'clock and then Louise called the meeting to order, she asked for nominations from the floor for a chairman for the meeting, she was nominated but declined saying she did not feel so good, Nat was nominated and accepted.

He read the agenda which consisted of only one point and that was the Daily Worker, and the raising of funds for it.

Nat called on me to give a report on the Daily Worker and what was said last night.

I gave a comprehensive report on what was said at last night's meeting, a meeting sponsored by the Bronx County Section Committee meeting, it was pointed out that the Daily Worker was in dire straits, that it was losing money, that after considerable discussion it was agreed by the stockholders to discontinue the Daily because of these and other losses. The loss in membership was a great contributing factor toward the discontinuance of the Daily.

At present it has to raise \$60,000 immediately and I am happy to say that the Counties of the Bronx, Bklyn. and Manhattan have pledged to raise this money as soon as possible within the next few weeks.

The need for discontinuing the Daily was agreed upon in order to strengthen the Sunday Worker, which is going to be published weekly and to a greater extent, more features, more news coverage Nationally, etc.

NY 100-26603-C40

In conclusion I urged that we set an example here tonight and take a quota either personally or on a club scale, but nevertheless we should not go away from her without doing so.

I personally pledged \$20.00 and as for my club most of them are here and I will let them speak for themselves.

Louise and Nat both added a little to what I had to say, but Louise said that as far as raising money goes we should try and have a party, either house or theatre as a good way to raise money, as for personal pledges she as an individual is in no position to give any, nor can she speak for her club until she meets with them possibly on Monday night.

Ben Chasanow said, after conferring with Oscar and one other member of his club, that his club, the Cultural, would pledge \$100.00.

Ann Bittman pledged about twenty-five dollars, Reah pledged ten or fifteen. Celia speaking for her and a few other people in her immediate group pledged \$50.00 or more.

The amount pledged amounted to nearly \$300.00, the amount which the Section pledged was between three hundred and three hundred and fifty dollars.

Mitzi spoke and said that she feels very bitter because after months of silence with no one contacting her, she is now called on the phone and asked to come to a meeting where funds are discussed. Someone is responsible for this and she does not think it very thoughtful of them. Mitzi continued to heap her anger especially toward the Section leadership and said that this is one of the reasons that the membership is falling away, and we should be more considerate of our members if we are to continue to hold them in the Party.

NY 100-26603-C40

She has read more in the Daily Press, the so called Capitalist Press that she can gather in the Daily or Sunday Worker, or for that matter from her own Section

Mitzi got up and walked out after her talk because as she explained to me earlier she did not have a baby sitter and had to leave early.

Ben Chasanow agreed with her and it was not a very nice thing to do to call and invite her to a fund raising meeting, after not contacting her in several months. Whether it was intentional or not it did not appeal to him nor Mitzi for that matter, as one who attended several sessions of the recent Section and County Conventions she should have been notified of any meeting much earlier than this.

Louise went on to explain that the Section has undergone a change in recent months, Frank Hashmall has not functioned in months because he is presently attending night school, and the burden has been on her shoulders plus Nat and Sal as a Section Committee.

She has been unable to get the membership list from Phylliss McRae because she was very ill therefore she has no knowledge of who is in the Party or out.

She has attended County Committee meetings, and we have had a few Section Committee meetings but until we can get the membership list she only knows a few first names which mean nothing to her.

Of over 250 names or members in this Section over 1 year ago, we now have about 100 members, but we will not actually until she see Phylliss and she is definitely going to see her over this weekend. If she does then she will have a Club organizers or anyone else that wants to come, at her house this Tuesday Jan. 14 at 8:30.

NY 100-26603-040

There continued discussion from the floor on the Daily and the raising of funds, and everyone promised to go out and raise personally or otherwise their quota and if possible more.

The question of registration was brought up briefly and after the meeting I registered most of my people. The requirements for registration were that dues must be paid through Dec. 1957. If no record of dues is available then some concessions must be made so that the member assumes some responsibility. There will be no assessment as in previous years.

Louise and Nat explained further the report which was made by the speakers at last night's meeting and stressed how Bronx County has pledged \$4,000, \$2,000 of which was borrowed and turned over to the Daily Worker.

After the meeting I registered the following people;

- 1 - Annie Mattison, age 60, (over), 20 years in the Party, dressmaker local 22.
- 2 - Reah Bagdad, age 53, 30 years in the Party, Housewife, Fraternal Club.
- 3 - myself.
- 4 - Celia Vosk, age 24- 34 years in the Party, charter member, housewife.
- 5 - Sophie, - age 24+, 34 years in Party, housewife.
- 6 - 24+, age, 7 years in Party housewife.
- 7 - Eva Forrest, 63, 10 yrs. in Party, dressmaker I.L.G.W.U.

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NY 100-26603-C40

- 8 - Rose - 53 yrs. 15 yrs. in Party, housewife.
- 10 - Hyman - 65 yrs. old, 20 years in Party, Carpenter.
- 11 - Ann Bittman age 50, 20 yrs. in Party - housewife.

I told Louise that I would give her this registration to her on Tuesday night.

Louise asked Celia to come, but she said it was to far for her, Louise asked me if I would drive her over Tuesday night, I said I would call her on the phone before I left my house.